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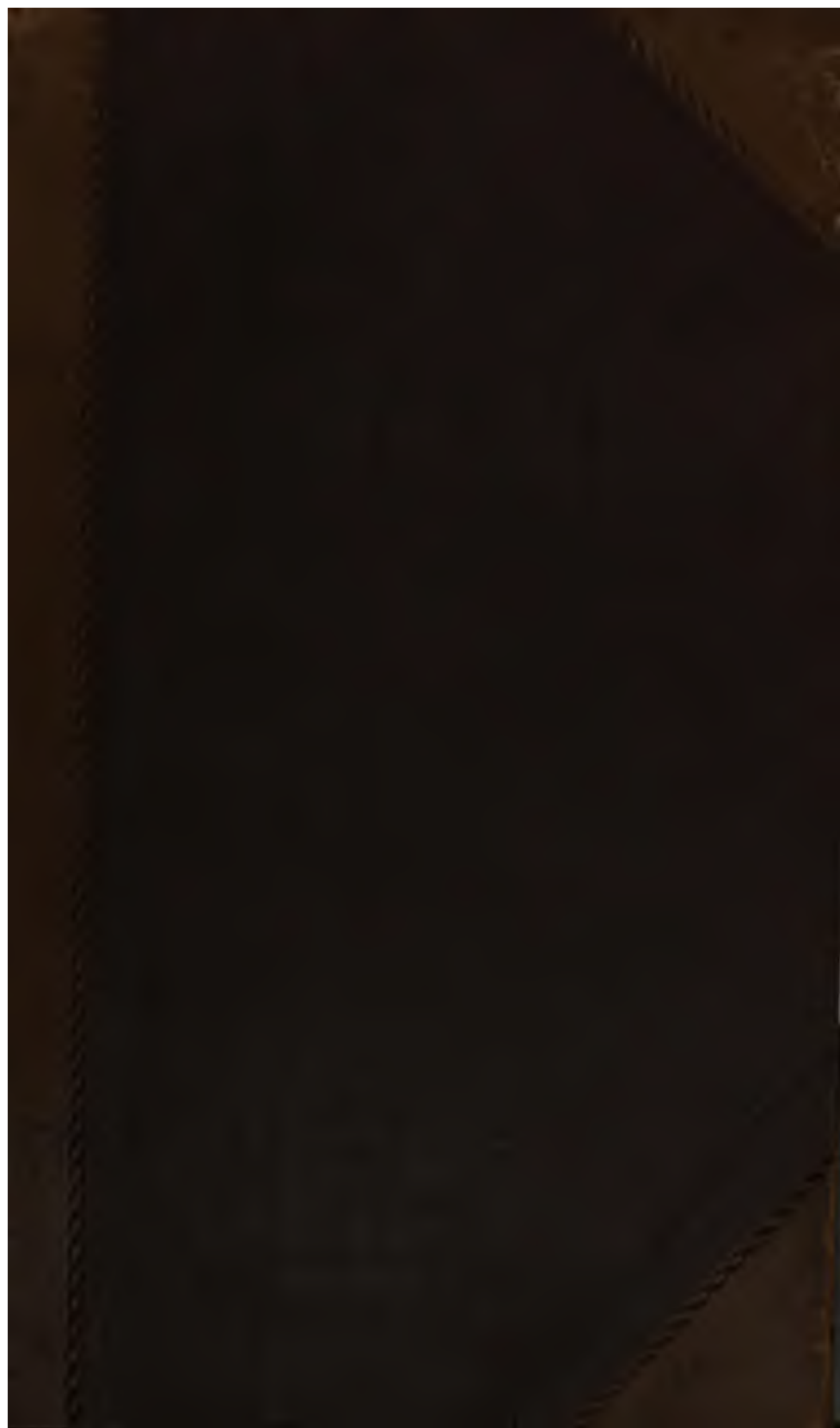
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Mr. Chubb, of the Bank

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THE LIFE
OF
GEORGE LORD ANSON,

**ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET; VICE-ADMIRAL OF GREAT BRITAIN;
AND FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY,
PREVIOUS TO, AND DURING, THE
SEVEN-YEARS' WAR.**

BY
SIR JOHN BARROW, BART., F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF
THE "LIFE OF ADMIRAL LORD HOWE."

LONDON:
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P R E F A C E.

THE Life of Lord Anson, though wholly spent in the civil and military services of the navy, is certainly less generally known than that of such an officer ought to be, who, by character and conduct, worked his way to the very top of his profession, to the head of the naval administration, and to a peerage; and to whom was intrusted the principal direction of the fleets of Great Britain, during the two French and Spanish wars which occurred in the reign of George II. Every body has heard of, and multitudes have read, "Anson's Voyage round the World;" many are acquainted with the fact of his having been, for a long time, First Lord of the Admiralty, and many in the profession may also know, that he fought a great action, took six ships of war, and defeated two important expeditions; but it may be doubted whether the great majority of readers, even those in the naval service, know much more about him than these few particulars. The recollection of His late Majesty even (than whom few were better read in naval history, or better acquainted with the characters of naval officers, or whose memory was more retentive), failed him on one remarkable occasion with regard to Anson, the

omission of whose name, in the eulogy he bestowed on other officers, drew from him an expression of regret, and at the same time of the high opinion he entertained of Anson.*

It is true, as the King said, Anson was not a brilliant character: he was not one who had the faculty of shining in conversation or in writing, nor can his biographer give a detail of heroic deeds, such as the life of a Nelson or a Wellington affords, but no man's moral courage was put to a more severe test than that of Anson. He was no boaster; I have somewhere seen it observed that he was too modest ever to speak of his very unequal combat with the Acapulco galeon, or of the victory he gained off Cape Finisterre.

* The occasion was this. His Majesty, on the anniversary of the battle of Camperdown falling on a Sunday, attended by the Board of Admiralty and certain naval officers, heard divine service in the chapel of Greenwich Hospital, and afterwards dined at St. James's. When the queen and the ladies were about to retire, the king requested they would stay, as he had a few words to say regarding the British navy. He began with the landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain, which, he said, must have proved to the natives the necessity of a naval force to prevent and repel foreign invasion; and he went over the main features of all the great battles that had been fought down to that of Trafalgar.

Assembled in the drawing-room, after dinner, he beckoned me to him, and said, "I fear I forgot to mention the name of Anson, and the action he fought off Cape Finisterre: I am not sure I know the details correctly; pray send me an account of it to-morrow." He added, "Anson was a good man, and knew his business well; though not brilliant, he was an excellent First Lord, improved the build of our ships, made more good officers, and brought others forward in the Seven-Years' War, than any of his predecessors had done. Howe, Keppel, Saunders, and many others, were of his making."

In this kind of feeling Howe and St. Vincent participated. The former never talked of the glorious 1st of June, nor did the latter of the 14th of February ; it is said indeed he always discouraged that topic being brought into conversation. I think it was Lord St. Vincent who once made the observation, that it was that man only who had performed one little exploit who was for ever talking about it.

But if the Life of Anson affords not scope for recording many brilliant deeds of his own, he had the great merit of preparing fleets, selecting, appointing and making officers to command them, by which and by whom the British navy was never more triumphant, nor that of France more humbled and reduced, than in the Seven-Years' War, when Anson may be said to have had the whole direction of the naval department. No one ever formed a juster estimate of naval characters ; and it is worthy of remark that the officers who served under him, in his celebrated voyage, were those who highly distinguished themselves in the said war — Saunders, Keppel, Brett, Denis, &c.

The fate of Admiral Byng is too intimately connected with the administration in which Anson held a prominent position, too deeply affecting the naval character, and too painfully impressive, to be omitted or slightly passed over in a work like this. What individual share Anson had in this deep tragedy, I have not been able to discover ; he had however his

share of responsibility, as First Lord of the Admiralty, for the harsh and severe measures taken against the unfortunate admiral in the first instance, which, in fact, led to all the rest ; but no blame attaches to him for the selection of this officer, who, being a full admiral in the actual command of the Channel fleet, and no complaint appearing against him, could not have been superseded, without casting a stain on his character.

In writing the *Life of Anson*, it would have been unpardonable not to give an outline of the voyage round the world, the second performed by any Englishman, that of Drake being the first. The narrative of this voyage is cleverly drawn up, but it does not give the sentiments and feelings of the Commodore, under the many distressing incidents and the melancholy occurrences that befel him and his companions. This is a fault inseparable from a narrative of personal adventures, drawn up by a second hand, not concerned in them. It is generally understood that, although it bears the name of Mr. Walter, the chaplain, the account of the voyage was written by Mr. Robins, an engineer officer of great talent and celebrity ; but the widow of Walter claimed the work as that of her husband. Lady Anson, in a letter to Dr. Birch, asks, “ Pray is Mr. Robins’ *second* volume almost ready for President Montesquieu’s approbation ? ”—implying his authorship of the *first*. And a letter of Lord Anson makes a

similar inquiry. This second volume would have furnished an interesting document, as showing the real state and extent of nautical science when this voyage was performed, which we know only, very partially, from Pascoe Thomas, the schoolmaster; but its loss, in other respects, is not much to be regretted. Major Rennell observes, in a letter to his friend, "I forgot to say, in defence of Anson's voyage, that a second volume, containing the nautical observations, was written, and approved by Anson; but Colonel Robins, being hurried off to India (as Engineer General), took the manuscript with him, to revise and correct, very contrary to Anson's desire. Robins died not long after at Fort St. David, and the manuscript could never be found." But with regard to the writer of the first volume, the matter appears to be set at rest by what follows.

In 1761, Dr. James Wilson, a particular friend of Mr. Robins, published his "Mathematical Tracts," in the preface of which he satisfactorily decides the question whether Mr. Walter, the chaplain to the Centurion, whose name it bears, or Mr. Robins, the engineer officer, to whom it has generally been given, be the real author of that celebrated work; or whether, which I have always thought most probable, both these gentlemen did not participate in it. Dr. Wilson says,

"Of this voyage the public had for some time been in expectation of seeing an account composed under

his Lordship's own inspection. For this purpose the Rev. Mr. Richard Walter was employed, as having been chaplain aboard the Centurion for the greatest part of the expedition. Mr. Walter had accordingly almost finished his task, having brought it down to his own departure from Macao for England, when he proposed to print his work by subscription. Then Mr. Robins being recommended as a proper person for reviewing it, on examination it was resolved that the whole should be written entirely by Mr. Robins; what Mr. Walter had done, being, *as Mr. Robins informed me*, almost all taken *verbatim* from the *Journals*, and was to serve as materials only. And, upon a strict perusal of both performances, I find Mr. Robins' to contain about as much matter again as that of Mr. Walter; and indeed the introduction entire, with many dissertations in the body of the book, were composed by Mr. Robins, without having received the least hint from Mr. Walter's manuscript; and what he had thence transcribed regarded chiefly the wind and the weather, the currents, courses, bearings, distances, offings, soundings, moorings, and the qualities of the ground they anchored on, with such particulars as generally fill up a sailor's *account*. So this famous voyage was composed, in the person of the Centurion's chaplain, by Mr. Robins in his own style and manner."

If however the description of Mr. Walter's production be correct, Mr. Robins must have been not

a little indebted to the "Journal of the Voyage," published three years before, namely, in 1745, by "Pascoe Thomas, teacher of the mathematics on board the Centurion," a very respectable work, containing nearly all that is found in Robins', and, in some respects, unnecessarily, more. To corroborate the statement made by Doctor Wilson as to Robins' share in the work, he further states that Mr. Robins' friends, Mr. Glover and Mr. Ockenden, with himself, compared the printed book with Mr. Walter's manuscript. The fact then appears to be simply this—that Walter drew the cold and naked skeleton, and that Robins clothed it with flesh and muscles, and, by the warmth of his imagination (*chaleur d'imagination*, as a French writer says), caused the blood to circulate through the veins, giving a colour and freshness to the portrait.

An observation was made by some one (I think in Nicholl's Literary Anecdotes) that there is not a single expression in the book that could lead a stranger to suppose it had been written by a Christian (much less by a clergyman) or suited for the reading of Christians; and this accords with a remark made by the late Major Rennell, that in the whole narrative of such dangers, distresses, and calamities, as rarely, if ever, occurred in any voyage, before or since, the word *Providence* is not to be found. Perhaps not; but the finding of a compass on Tinean, when the Centurion had been driven to

sea, is stated to be one of those "providential interpositions of very improbable events" (p. 327)—an event, however, that can hardly be considered *dignus vindice nodus* to call for such interposition—but the inference is, that the work *could not* be that of the chaplain.

On every consideration it appeared to me desirable, that the name of Anson should no longer want a place in the naval biography of Great Britain; and, having ascertained that materials, to a certain extent, were to be found for the purpose, I ventured to undertake it; and I am not sure that in doing so the similarity, real or fancied, between the circumstances and characters of Anson and Howe, might not have had its share in stimulating me to the attempt. The parallel might run thus:—each of those distinguished officers entered the naval service without a prospect of early promotion from any great interest or hope of patronage; the success of both appears to have been owing to constant service and strict attention to their duties, which rarely fail; at the period in question, when the lists were not so swelled as now, young men like these were sure to succeed. Howe rose to the flag at the age of forty-five; Anson at forty-seven. Both attained to the highest honours of the profession; both were raised to the peerage; and both were placed at the head of the naval administration. And it may here be noticed, as one among the numerous instances of Anson's discri-

minating faculty in the character of naval officers, that to him, and his recommendation to Mr. Pitt, Howe, while a captain, was indebted for the distinguished command of the expeditions to the coast of France in the Seven-Years' War.

The moral and physical character of these two officers was very similar. The same personal qualities and constitution of mind were common to each; resolution, with undaunted courage, united with patience, perseverance, and indefatigable attention to their professional duties; modesty and diffidence were the characteristics of both. Howe, on one or two occasions only, spoke in Parliament—Anson never. Howe has been represented as silent as a rock; Anson is called, by the same writer, the silent son-in-law of the chancellor. Howe was a family man, and seldom appeared in society; Anson was said to have been "round the world, but never in it." Howe's character was strongly marked by benevolence, humanity, and generosity; and Anson's was not less so. Both were firmly attached to the naval service; and it is so far remarkable that both should have had the opportunity of giving the first blow to the French navy, by each having gained the first victory in two several wars.

The comparison might be carried further; but in one respect there appears to be a great contrast: the one was fond of writing, the other appears to have abhorred it; and this leads me to speak of the mate-

rials I have collected for the Memoir of Anson. In the case of Lord Howe I had upwards of four hundred letters, all written by the noble Earl to one individual, which proved a habit of writing; but, unfortunately, the rest of his correspondence had perished. In the case of Anson I have between five and six hundred letters, none of them written by, but all of them addressed to, the noble Lord, by a great variety of correspondents, in and out of the profession; all carefully bound up in three large volumes, alphabetically arranged under the names of the writers, so as to afford an easy reference.

From several of these letters it appears that Anson, unlike Howe, was as sparing of his pen as of his tongue. Of whatever letters he may have written, not purely official, few have been found; and, I understand that those I have spoken of from his correspondents were scattered about the house, until collected by the old house-steward, Jenkins, who had been in his younger days a boy under Lord Anson's cook, and who lived in the Anson family until his death, in 1824; and that these letters owe their present collective form to the care of Mr. Upcott, a gentleman well known in the literary circle for his valuable collection of curious manuscripts, which, for their novelty and variety, ought to have a place in the British Museum, whose library is certainly not overstocked with MSS.

For the use of the MS. letters above mentioned,

I am indebted to the kindness and liberality of the Earl of Lichfield, who most readily placed them in my hands, and to whom I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks. In addition to these I have another volume of letters, addressed by the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Mr. Pelham, Chief Baron Clarke, Lord Anson, and some others, to Lord Sandwich, at the time chiefly when his Lordship was negotiating a peace at Aix-la-Chapelle. For these I am indebted to the Earl of Sandwich, who, with the greatest kindness, brought them up from Hinchinbrook for my use, and for which I am desirous to express my acknowledgments. The State Paper Office afforded but few materials; but, whatever there might be, Lord John Russell had the civility to order every facility to be given for availing myself of them; and it is due to Mr. Lechmere, Deputy Keeper of State Papers, to say, I found him ever willing to comply with my wishes. To the records of the Admiralty of a professional nature I had, of course, ready access; to these, and a few casual letters and notices, the present little work owes its existence. What follows has only relation to a former volume.

I had hoped, in my "Life of Lord Howe," to have steered clear of giving offence to any one; but I regret to say that, in this respect, I have been mistaken; and I avail myself of this opportunity to

make an explanation to the few from whom I have received remonstrance or friendly hints. The head and front of my offending comes from Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Harvey, who thinks I have thrown a slur on the character of his late father, Admiral Sir Henry Harvey, by including the *Ramillies*, of which he was captain, in the only *eight* seventy-four-gun ships that were in a condition to go down and oppose the collected ships of the French, after the battle of the 1st of June. The paragraph which has given offence is in part from a MS. Memoir of Captain Thomas White, on the battle of the 1st June, who states that "the British Admiral had left only the *Impregnable*, ninety, the *Gibraltar*, eighty, and eight seventy-fours, to combat one ship of one hundred and twenty, three of eighty-four, and eight of seventy-four guns, rather less damaged than those remaining at Lord Howe's disposal—that is ten to twelve;" and I added, "what confidence could Lord Howe have in his eight seventy-fours, which had contributed little or nothing to the victory—such as the *Thunder*, that had not a man killed or wounded; the *Alfred*, none killed and eight wounded; the *Tremendous*, *Culloden*, *Majestic*, *Ramillies*, and *Valiant*, all of which had little share in the action;—was a second battle to be intrusted to such ships?"

While I do not hesitate to answer my own question by saying a second battle was *not* to be intrusted to such ships, I freely admit that the *captain* of the *Ramillies*, Henry Harvey, was not in my contem-

plation when I included his ship; it was a pure inadvertence, and, I may acknowledge, entirely incompatible with what I have said elsewhere of the gallant officer in question. 1. I had included the name of Henry Harvey among the officers having "particular claim to Lord Howe's attention," p. 237. 2. In describing the gallant conduct of the Brunswick, and her falling alongside the Vengeur, I said, "In this situation, being observed by Captain Henry Harvey, the brother of the commander of the Brunswick, who afterwards fell on that day, he stood to their relief in the Ramillies, and *poured such a destructive and tremendous fire* into the Vengeur, that just after the conclusion of the battle she went to the bottom," p. 276. 3. On the same occasion I have inserted what Lady Mary Howe says:—"His poor brother, who commanded the Ramillies, seeing the Brunswick with three ships upon him at the same time, had *twice* borne down between the enemy and his brother, to take the fire in his stead:" p. 284. If Sir Thomas Harvey will cast his eye over these passages, I think he will acquit me of any intention to throw reproach on his father's character.

The next is a kind remonstrance from my much-respected friend, Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Owen, in behalf of the late Sir John Colpoys, who thinks that a passage in the Memoir of Earl Howe "sounds harshly, as regards his memory, and seems calculated to narrow that high ground of general

estimation in which his character and conduct placed him in public and private life." Sir Edward, I am sure, knows that it is impossible for any human being, who had any acquaintance with Sir John Colpoys, and one in particular who sat daily with him for many months in the same room, not to venerate his character and admire his conduct in all the relations of his life, public and private. I had occasion to know him well, and to be witness to his kind and cheerful disposition, his general benevolence, and extensive charities. But to the charge. Among the many manuscript slips of paper placed in my hands, one without name stated that "Sir John Colpoys was appointed to hoist his flag in the Northumberland (Sir Edward Owen his captain). This was suddenly changed, without Colpoys being aware of it; and, on the Admiral asking for some explanation, Lord Spencer told him a letter from Lord Bridport stated that there were murmurs in the fleet, it being a breach of promise to the service that Colpoys should be employed again." The memorandum then goes on to say that Lord Spencer sent down Lord Hugh Seymour, to ask Lord Howe if after the mutiny he had made such promise, &c.

On this I observed, that the Lords of the Admiralty had no occasion to ask any such question; that no restriction respecting the employment of officers was ever conceded to, or asked by, the mutineers; and I added what follows.

“In fact the whole story (contained in the Memorandum) is a fabrication. Sir John Colpoys was never *named* for the Northumberland, nor for any other ship, until appointed by Lord St. Vincent port-admiral at Plymouth in 1803. The Northumberland was never *ordered* to be fitted as a flag-ship, and Captain (now Admiral) Sir Edward Owen, was only first *made* into that ship a few weeks before.” It will be obvious that I could only have made this statement after examining all that could be collected from official documents; and I am compelled to declare, that, on a close re-examination, what I stated is correctly true. It seems, however, that, with all this, I am still in error by Sir Edward’s account, and I most readily give him the benefit of it in his own words:—

“I venture to assure you that I was promoted and appointed to the Northumberland, at the vice-admiral’s especial request, as his flag-captain; that the Northumberland was fitted out in all respects as a flag-ship, the captain’s cabin being (as is usual in such cases) in the ward-room. I can likewise assure you that his officers, collected from the other ships they had been serving in, were appointed to, and had joined her; I will add, that his name was used in my various applications to the public boards, was always blended with the consideration of her equipments, his flag was fitted and ready, his coxswain even and his boat’s-crew named.”

I cannot for a moment doubt that Sir Edward's assurances are strictly correct, and all that can be said is, what has sometimes happened, that the communication was *privately* made by the First Lord of the Admiralty of his *intention*, who very probably desired him to act upon it; but I can assure him the flag was never ordered to be hoisted; the Northumberland was never ordered to fit for a flag, but in the usual way for Channel service, not at Sheerness, as Sir Edward thinks, but at Woolwich; and I am obliged to Sir Edward Owen for putting me in possession of the real cause (I consider, a very unworthy one) of the intention being abandoned, as it proves to me that, at least, the part of the Memorandum which related to Lord Hugh Seymour's mission to Lord Howe was "a fabrication."

It appears that a correspondence on the subject took place in the year 1825, by Sir Griffith Colpoys, the nephew of the admiral, with Sir Byam Martin, in which it is stated that "two seamen in the lower deck of the *Bellona* were overheard conversing in their hammocks about the return of Admiral Colpoys to the fleet, and expressing their regret at it, as it would remind them of the 'bad times,' or some such expression that had passed. This circumstance having been reported to the flag-ship, more importance was attached to it then, than in the opinion of many it appeared to deserve. It was considered to imply a disposition in the seamen of the fleet to resist

the admiral's return, and with this colouring it was sent up to the Admiralty. Admiral Colpoys was sent for by the Board, and was asked whether he had heard any news from Portsmouth; and, on his answering in the negative, the intelligence alluded to was communicated to him, and it was put to him what he meant to do. His answer was to this effect—that it was for the Board to decide; that, on his part, he was ready to act; and he had only to entreat that, in coming to a decision, they would lay all consideration for him out of the question, and do what they might judge best for the welfare of the country, and the interests of the service. It was decided that he was not to hoist his flag.”—And I cannot avoid saying, a very cruel decision it was.

3. Connected with the subject of the mutiny, I had rather a curious application from a gentleman who signs “Robert Bover Hinchliffe,” and who says he seeks at my hands an act of justice to “a naval officer, Lieutenant Peter Bover, who served on board the *London*, and was the officer who shot the mutineer;” and he complains that, “in all accounts of the transaction (as if purposely), his name has ever been withheld from the page of history;” and that “this has been a source of great regret to his few remaining relations;” and he requests me, if an opportunity should occur, to take a little more notice of Lieutenant Bover, and that, if so, he will send me some letters and memoranda for the purpose.

I have received them, and most readily avail myself of this occasion to communicate to the public the interesting story of Lieutenant Bover.

Sir John Colpoys, in a long letter relating the incidents of the mutiny in the London—a letter that does him the highest honour for manly feelings, fortitude, and courage—touches upon that part which concerns Lieutenant Bover. “I can now solemnly declare,” says Sir John, “and mean to do at my latest moments, should the poor misguided men, who are to be my judges, allow me to say as much to them, and which I am inclined to think they will, as they really paid unexpected attention to me, even at a moment that one could have little expected any attention from them, but what was produced from over-boiling rage and fury, at seeing several of their wounded and dying shipmates weltering in their blood.—Even then, I say, though armed with all manner of missive weapons, they gave me a hearing, and which certainly saved Lieutenant Bover’s life, though the rope was about his neck, and indeed, when taken from his, I expected it would have been placed about mine.” He then proceeds to state the violent proceedings of the men, who were pointing the guns aft, and forcing themselves up the hatchways, when the officers called out to know if they were to be prevented by firing on them; Sir John said, “Yes, certainly: they must not be allowed to come up.” Several were killed and wounded by the

firing : the marines threw away their muskets—the men rushed up—the general cry was for poor Bover, whom they seized, carried off to the forecastle, got a rope round his neck, but were prevailed on by the surgeon to hear what the admiral had to say. What he said was—that, if any one was culpable, it was he, and he only, and that Mr. Bover only obeyed his orders.

The state of anxiety in Mr. Bover's family, on the circumstances being made known to them, will easily be conceived. The following is a letter from one of his sisters :—

“ MY DEAREST SISTERS,

“ Thank you both for your kind and flattering letters. I deserve no praise ; but I rejoice that I had some recollection left, because it contributed to alleviate in some little degree the greatest misery wretches ever endured. I shall not act so wise a part in relating some of the dreadful circumstances which were yesterday sent me by Lady Howe. She begged a friend of hers to call and tell me that my brother's name and person were idolised, and that his life was saved, by one of the very delegates fired upon. They seized our dearest Peter, and were in the act of completing his destruction, when Joyce ran, clasped him by the neck, and called out to his party, “ If you hang this young man, you shall hang me ; for I will never quit him.” The recollection of how near it was, makes me shudder every time I think of it, and I have a horror beyond conception of being alone. I secure myself at night by swallowing camphorettes julep, which puts me to sleep ; I beg you will get some,” &c.

Well did Lord Howe understand the real character of British seamen when he "had to quiet the most suspicious, but most generous minds, he thinks, he ever met with in the same class of men." Read the following letter written the day after the blood of the writer's messmates had been shed, and then say, whether such men as Joyce and Fleming, delegates as they were, and mutineers if you will, are not an honour to human nature; and who will doubt that there are thousands among our brave seamen possessing kindred feelings?

"To the Delegates of the Fleet at St. Helen's.

"You have, I presume, read the address of the ship's company, of which I am a member, to you, recommending me as their representative in future. They have further given me the most flattering proofs of their opinion of my abilities to act as a man and a Christian ought to do. Under these circumstances, I flatter myself you will hear me with patience, as I am partly convinced that your own sentiments, when compared with mine, will join me in saving a deserving character from ruin and destruction. I shall not dwell on the particulars of yesterday, they, I am confident, are still warm in your memory; but only recall your attention to the behaviour, of our brother Valentine Joyce—his intrepid behaviour, in rescuing the unfortunate gentleman from the hands of an enraged multitude, will, I am sure, make a deep impression on your minds, and will I hope influence you to act in a manner worthy of the character of Christians and British seamen.

"This much, my brethren, for preface. Permit me

now to speak for that ship's company whose confidence I enjoy. In the first place, had they followed the momentary impulse of passion, and wreaked their vengeance on that unfortunate gentleman, a few minutes would have brought to their recollection the amiable character he always bore among them, and I am confident would have embittered the latest moments of their lives. Now, my brethren, your general cry is 'Blood for blood!' Do you mean *that* as a compliment to us, to assist us in following error after error? If so, it is a poor compliment to us indeed. Do you (let me ask you) think it justice? I hope not: if you do, pray from whence did you derive that authority to sit as a court over the life of even the meanest of subjects? The only answer you can give me is, you are authorised by your respective ship's companies; but is that authority sufficient to quiet your consciences for taking the life even of a criminal, much more that of a deserving and worthy gentleman, who is an ornament to his profession in every respect? I can almost safely say you will say no. But if you are to be influenced by your ship's companies, in spite of your own opinion—I am but a single individual among you—and before this arm of mine shall subscribe the name of Fleming to anything that may in the least tend to that gentleman's prejudice, much more to his life, I will undergo your utmost violence, and meet death with him hand-in-hand.

“ I am nevertheless as unanimous as any member in the fleet for a redress of our grievances—will maintain that point hand-in-hand with you all, so long as you are contented with your original demands; but, that moment I hear you deviate from those principles, that instant I become your most inveterate enemy. You see, brethren, I act

openly, and am determined to support it, as I will never form a part to do injustice to my country; and, for the future, shall expect that whatever comes before us shall be only conducive to the much-wanted and desirable end of restoring this fleet to the confidence of an injured country. Let these be your aims, and depend on every support from me and this ship's company; and be assured that the life and character of Mr. Bover shall always remain inviolate in our hands; and we think any step taken to the contrary, highly injurious to ourselves as brothers of your community.

"We expect your answer this night; and beg leave to remain yours, most sincerely,

(Signed) "JOHN FLEMING.

"Per desire of the London's
ship's company."

But these deluded men of the London did more: when Lieutenant Bover was taken on shore, to abide the result of a coroner's jury, the crew expressed their unwillingness to give him up, but he promised them he would return to the ship; the verdict being "justifiable homicide," his friends wished to prevail on him not to return, and put himself in their power, but he persisted in rejoining his ship, as he had promised; he was received on board with three cheers, requested that he would not leave them, to which he assented, and continued to serve in the London till made commander, on the 14th February, 1798; in the mean time Lord Spencer had written to his sister a kind letter, of which the following is a copy:—

“MADAM,

“Your brother’s conduct on this unhappy occasion, as well as upon former ones of a less unpleasant nature, has deserved so well of his country and the service, that you may depend upon my not suffering it to pass unnoticed; there are, however, some reasons of discretion, which will obviously occur to you, that may make it advisable to defer, at least for a short time, anything to be done in his favour.

“I have the honour to be, Madam,

“Your very obedient humble servant,

(Signed) “SPENCER.

“Admiralty, 13th May, 1797.

“Miss Maria Bover.”

On the 11th August, 1800, he was made captain; and died about the end of 1802. It is hoped the notice here taken will prove satisfactory to Mr. Bover Hinchliffe and the surviving family of this brave young officer.

4. There is no part of the Memoir on Lord Howe’s life that I regret more than that which, for want of explanation, has given pain to a most amiable and highly-respected gentleman, Sir George Seymour, son of the late Lord Hugh Seymour; and which he has pointed out to me in the most kind and friendly manner. It is an extract of a letter from Lord Howe to Sir Roger Curtis, and is as follows:—

“The conditions meant to be exacted by the crews of Lord Hugh Seymour’s ships is a very unpleasant circumstance; and, by pretensions of a similar kind in the frigate detachments, it appears

that the assumed right of rejecting their officers, unheard in their defence, will go through the fleet, at home and abroad. I am glad you have convinced Lord Hugh of the high degree of impropriety, in my opinion, when commanders, not so compelled, assume a liberty to quit their ships."

This paragraph, unexplained, does certainly wear the appearance of an indirect rebuke to Lord Hugh Seymour; but, considering the high estimation in which Lord Hugh's character stood in the navy, and, on all occasions, in the mind of the noble commander-in-chief, from his activity displayed in the *Latona*, at the relief of Gibraltar, to the time he finally struck his flag, it is utterly impossible he could have meant it as such; and I am vexed it did not occur to me, at the time, to examine the official reports, to enable me to explain the circumstance that gave rise to it. It was simply this: Lord Howe, the late commander-in-chief, had struck his flag, and was on shore; Sir Roger Curtis had a squadron placed under his orders for a cruise, having under him Rear-Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour, in the *Sans Pareil*. When at St. Helen's, Sir Erasmus Gower, of the *Triumph*, and Sir Joseph Yorke, of the *Stag*, disgusted with the conduct of the seamen, wrote a letter to Lord Hugh, under whose orders they were, desiring to be superseded or allowed to go on shore; which Lord Hugh, as was his duty, transmitted to Sir Roger Curtis, and the latter of course

to Lord Bridport, the commander-in-chief. His letter to Lord Howe, which drew from him the observation above alluded to, was a private one.

Whatever blame may be attached to the captain and crews of other ships, it is due to Lord Hugh and the *Sans Pareil* to say that she ought to have been an example to the rest; her crew never joined in the mutiny, nor demanded the removal of any officer. The *Sans Pareil* was considered and mentioned by the members of the Board of Admiralty as a gratifying exception from the evil that was raging in the ships-of-the-line; and her crew were looked upon as so trustworthy, that she was sent to the North Sea, though ill adapted from her draft of water, to join Admiral Duncan, left with the *Venerable* and *Adamant* off the *Texel*, where she remained until the fleet at the *Nore* returned to their allegiance.

The conduct of Lord Hugh Seymour in the battle of the 1st of June is too well known to make any comments thereon necessary; and, though he is not one of the five captains who, at once, broke through the enemy's line, yet he was one of those "who were able to secure their adversaries by close action to windward," and one who was particularly distinguished by Lord Howe; and on the 29th May, when the *Charlotte* broke through the enemy's line, she was followed, in the most gallant manner, by the *Leviathan* (Lord Hugh's ship) and *Bellerophon*, both of which were most conspicuously engaged, the former

having her foremast crippled and in danger of falling, when Lord Howe, observing this, instantly stood to her rescue. The beautiful manner in which Lord Hugh expresses, in his journal, his grateful tribute of admiration for this timely assistance, I have transcribed in the Memoir (p. 266).

It will afford me much pleasure if the explanations here given prove satisfactory to the several parties concerned.

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THE LIFE OF GEORGE LORD ANSON.

CHAPTER I.

ADVANCEMENT IN THE NAVY.

Genealogy of the Anson family—Mistake respecting his education—Rises in the service by his own exertions and good conduct—First found serving in the fleet under Sir John Norris—English, Russian, and Danish fleets in the Baltic—Anson appointed to the *Hampshire*—to the *Montague*—in Lord Torrington's engagement—Made Commander—Captain of the *Scarborough*—Sent to South Carolina—Peace with Spain—Returns to England—A great favourite with the settlers of Carolina—Testimony of Mr. Killpatrick—His character by Mrs. Hutchinson—Appointed to the *Squirrel*, and sent to Georgia and Carolina—Spanish depredations in the West Indies—Spanish inhumanity—Inquiry of a Committee of the House of Commons—Case of Captain Jenkins—a doubtful one—Spanish retaliation—Declaration of War—Anson appointed to the *Centurion*, and sent to the coast of Africa—then to Barbadoes—Recalled for a special service—Two expeditions proposed—Anson's squadron appointed—The second expedition abandoned—Instructions to Anson of 31st January not delivered till the 28th June—Invalids embarked in lieu of seamen and marines—Impolicy and inhumanity—Remonstrance of no avail—Various delays—Sails—Spanish squadron—disasters of—Character of Sir Charles Wager—Anecdote—Anson's instructions.

1697 to 1740.

WILLIAM ANSON, ESQ., of Lincoln's Inn, an eminent barrister in the reign of James I., purchased the mansion of Shugborough in the county of Stafford.

To him succeeded his son William, and subsequently his grandson, William Anson, Esq., who died in 1720, leaving two sons and a daughter, namely—

1. Thomas, his successor at Shugborough, who died without issue, in 1773.

2. George, the celebrated circumnavigator, who, for his services, was created, in 1747, Baron Anson, a title that became extinct at his death, which happened on the 6th June, 1762: he was united to Elizabeth, daughter of Philip first Earl of Hardwicke, but had no issue.

3. Janetta, died in 1771, having married Sambrooke Adams, Esq., of Sambrooke in the county of Stafford. The only surviving issue of this marriage was George Adams, Esq., who, inheriting the property of both his maternal uncles, assumed the name and arms of Anson. Thomas, his eldest son and heir, was created, in 1806, Viscount Anson of Shugborough and Orgrave in the county of Stafford, and Baron Soberton of Soberton in the county of Hants; he died 31st July, 1818, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Thomas William, the third viscount, who, in 1831, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lichfield, the present possessor of that title.

GEORGE ANSON, the second son of William Anson, the subject of this memoir, was born in the parish of Colwich the 23rd April, 1697; but where he received his education, in what ship he first went to sea, and under what captain, none of the existing

generation of his family appear to have any knowledge. In the biographical dictionaries it is stated that he received his nautical instruction on board some ship of war, from Mr. William Jones, the father of the celebrated Sir William Jones, who was a schoolmaster in the navy; and Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) repeats this in his "Life of Sir William Jones." Speaking of the father, his lordship says, "From his earliest years Mr. Jones discovered a propensity for mathematical studies, and, having cultivated them with assiduity, he began his career in life by teaching mathematics on board a man-of-war; and in this situation attracted the notice and obtained the friendship of Lord (Mr.) Anson. In his twenty-second year Mr. Jones published a treatise on the art of navigation, which was received with great approbation. He was present at the capture of Vigo, in 1702, and, having joined his comrades in quest of pillage, he eagerly fixed upon a bookseller's shop as the object of his depredation; but, finding in it no literary treasures, which were the sole plunder that he coveted, he contented himself with a pair of scissors, which he frequently exhibited to his friends as a trophy of his military success, relating the anecdote by which he gained it. He returned with the fleet to England, and immediately afterwards established himself as a teacher of mathematics in London, where, at the age of twenty-six, he published

his *Synopsis Palmeriorum Matheseos*—a decisive proof of his early and consummate proficiency in his favourite science.”

This may be all correct as to Mr. Jones, but is impossible to be so as regards Mr. Anson; and it is rather surprising that Lord Teignmouth should not have seen this. Mr. Jones was born in 1680, and consequently had left the navy and was settled in London in 1706, when George Anson was only nine years of age; but, as he *immediately* established himself in London on the return of the fleet from Vigo, Anson could then have been no more than five or six. It is always desirable, where it can be done, to trace back to early youth the education and character of every one who, like Anson, may have had the good fortune to rise to the highest eminence in his profession; for it has generally been found, that traits of the future admiral are observable in the character of the midshipman;—the inclination of the tree from the bending of the twig. No record was formerly kept in the Admiralty of the services of young gentlemen, who entered the navy, until they had served the required time and passed the necessary examinations, to render them eligible for a lieutenant’s commission.*

* After a diligent search at Somerset House, it appears that the name of George Anson is first found, as volunteer, in the books of the Ruby, in January 1712; from the Ruby to the Monmouth, and from this to the Hampshire, where he received his acting order as lieutenant. As Captain Peter Chamberlain commanded all these ships (the Ruby from 1706 to 1712), it is extremely probable that An-

But, whatever Anson's education may have been, and under whomsoever brought up, he rose by his own exertions and good conduct, like St. Vincent and Howe, to the height of his profession—Admiral of the Fleet, First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, a Privy Counsellor, and a peer of the realm. That he did so rise, appears from various quarters, and receives confirmation from a memorandum on the first commission he ever received, written by George Parker, Esq., youngest son of the Chief Baron Parker, which was put into the hands of his son William (the present Sir William Parker) on his first entering the navy. It is as follows: "Lord Anson, our relation by marriage, set out without the least patronage, and worked his own way to a peerage and the First Commissioner of the Admiralty,—an example of encouragement worthy of your attention."

It appears that Anson, in his nineteenth or twentieth year, had qualified himself and passed the necessary examinations to render him eligible, for a lieutenant's commission, and was serving in the Hampshire, a frigate in the Baltic fleet, under the command of Admiral Sir John Norris. This fleet had been augmented to eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates and small vessels, in consequence of the Swedes, then at war with Russia, having threatened to capture, and having actually captured, the merchant-vessels

son entered the service under this officer, who, in 1720, was wrecked in the Milford frigate, off the coast of Cuba, when he and nearly the whole of the crew perished.

of England and Holland trading to St. Petersburg, under pretext of their carrying to that port warlike stores and ammunition. The Swedes at this time had twenty-four sail of the line, two of them three-deckers of 110 guns each. Charles XII., whose courage and resolution might properly be termed rashness, and his military measures indiscretion, had found the means, on his return from his signal defeat, imprisonment, and romantic adventures, to keep up this fleet, so wholly disproportionate, in every respect, to the resources of his country ; whose low ebb, however, did not prevent him from obtaining whatever money he wanted from his exhausted subjects ; as Voltaire says, " he was blamed, admired, and assisted." It seems never to have occurred to him, that such a fleet was an unnatural excrescence—a fungus without root ; that " ships, colonies, and commerce," of the first two of which he had few, and of the last little or none, were the mutual support of each other ; and that, without them, a durable naval force could not be kept up. The lapse of a few years fully proved this ; and Sweden has now some four or five rotten hulks of 74 guns, none of which are ever likely to go to sea ; a frigate or two, one steam-vessel, and some eighteen or twenty gun-boats.

To put down these depredations, on the part of Sweden, on neutral commerce, Sir John Norris proceeded to the Baltic. In July, 1716, he fell in with and joined a Muscovite squadron of seven sail of ships

of war, off the Island of Dago; and next day found himself in company with the whole fleet of nineteen sail, commanded by Admiral Count Apraxin, under whom was serving the Tzar Peter, with his flag flying, as Vice-Admiral of the Blue. The combined fleets of England and Russia entered Revel; Sir John asked permission to wait on the Tzar, who received him in the flag-ship of the admiral. "I made him," says Sir John, "what compliments I could, and was received with great civilities. He has since been pleased to come on board my ship, where we received him with such salutes as the fleet has always paid to princes. He is pleased to be very curious in his inquiries, and there is not a part of our ships he is not desirous of examining. The improvements he has made, by the help of English builders, are such as a seaman would think almost impossible for a nation so lately used to the sea. They have built three sixty-gun ships, which are every way equal to the best of that rank in our country."

The two fleets were here joined by the Danish squadron, and all three put to sea, forming a line of battle, as well as they could in the then low state of naval tactics and signals, even in our own navy. The compliment of placing the Russians in the centre was paid to Peter the Great, the English taking the van and the Danish the rear, while a few Dutch ships of war, and a portion of the English, were despatched for the protection of the trade up the Baltic.

The Swedes, on hearing what was taking place, made the best of their way to Carlskrona: and the Swedish monarch was apprised that if an English ship was captured the minister would immediately order reprisals to be made.

It was a fortunate circumstance for a young man in Anson's situation to have had so favourable an opportunity of taking a part in these transactions, though he might not have learned much in naval manoeuvres; but he was still more fortunate in another respect: an invaluable vacancy occurred for a lieutenant's commission in the Hampshire frigate, in which he was serving, and into which Sir John Norris gave Anson an acting order which was confirmed at home. In 1717 he was appointed lieutenant of the Montague, in which ship he had the good fortune to share in the action of Sir George Byng (afterwards Viscount Torrington) with the Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships of war, besides a number of bombs and fire-ships, commanded by Don Antonio Castaneta, with four rear-admirals under him. Sir George fell in with and chased them all day and through the night. The Spaniards having detached six of the fleet, Sir George ordered Captain Walton of the Canterbury, with five sail, to pursue them. The laconic account of his proceedings is admirable. "Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin. I am, &c. G. Walton." Sir

George Byng, in coming up with the rest of the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro, commenced a vigorous attack on the Spanish admiral, whom he captured, together with a rear-admiral and five sail of the line and two frigates. The Spanish admiral's ship, the *Royal Philip*, of 74 guns and 650 men, soon after the arrival of the prizes in Port Mahon, blew up, and every soul on board perished. Thirteen ships escaped, of which three were either taken, sunk, or wrecked.

Anson remained in the *Montague* until he was made commander into the *Weazle* sloop on the 19th of June, 1722, in which ship he was actively and successfully employed the remainder of that year in the North Sea, capturing a number of smugglers from the ports of Holland, laden chiefly with brandy and other contraband goods. From the *Weazle* he became captain of the *Scarborough* on the 1st February, 1723, and was ordered to fit her for immediate service at sea.

In the month of March, 1723-4, the *Scarborough* was ordered to South Carolina, with instructions to protect the trade generally against pirates, who were committing depredations on the coast of that new settlement, to grant convoys to and from the Bahamas, and to prevent all illicit commerce with the young colony. He was also to communicate with the governor, and to assist when necessary in the protection of the settlement, keeping a vigilant look-out on Spanish cruisers, who were

directed, by the neighbouring governments, to molest and impede the progress of our several establishments on that part of the coast of America, of which Spain was exceedingly jealous, more especially with regard to Georgia, which bordered on their possessions in Florida. In the commencement of the year 1726, matters had assumed the appearance of direct hostilities on the part of Spain; and her conduct went so far that, although in the peace of 1721, Spain had made an absolute cession of Gibraltar and Minorca to Great Britain, it was ascertained that, in 1725, a private engagement had been entered into between Spain and the Emperor of Germany, in which the recovery of those two places, by force of arms, had been stipulated, in case the King of England should refuse to restore them amicably, according to a solemn promise, which it was asserted had been made by George I. to the Spanish ambassador in London. The parliament, however, was too sensibly alive to the importance of the fortress of Gibraltar, to listen for a moment, when the thing was mentioned, to its abandonment on any terms. On the contrary, the ministry sent out immediately a squadron under Sir Charles Wager, to join the ships that were already there under Admiral Hopson. The junction was effected just in time, when the Condé de las Torres, with an army of fifteen to twenty thousand men, was encamping on the plain before St. Roch, with an intention of taking it by storm,

The reinforcement thrown in by this fleet rendered such an attempt hopeless, and the Count, after a few months' ineffectual siege, entered into preliminaries with the governor; and the following year a general peace ensued. In this futile attempt the Spaniards are said to have lost 3000 men, killed and wounded; the English about 300. That strange madman, the Duke of Wharton, had joined the Condé on this service.

" Wharton, the scorn and wonder of our days,
Whose ruling passion was a lust of praise."

This man, having wasted a large estate, turned papist, attached himself to the Pretender, and, in one of his mad frolics, had joined the army under de las Torres.

While these transactions were going on in Europe, Anson received orders, on the coast of Carolina, to burn, sink, and destroy all Spanish ships; but it does not appear that any of them came within his station; and the only assistance, he was called upon by the president of the province to afford him, was that of being instrumental, by means of his boats, in seizing a rebel of the name of Smith, who was instigating the settlers to assemble in a riotous and tumultuous manner, with the design of subverting the government. He delivered this man to the judicial authorities, and tranquillity was immediately restored.

A vacancy having occurred in the *Guarland* frigate by the death of the captain, Anson removed himself into her, and sent home the *Scarborough*, which was

in want of repair. In the year 1728 Captain Warren, who had been sent in the *Solebay* to the West Indies with the preliminaries of peace, called, on his return, at Carolina; and here commenced that friendship between him and Anson which ceased only with the death of Warren in the year 1752. Though peace was concluded, it was not before the 5th July, 1739, that Anson received orders to return to England.

His popularity among the settlers of South Carolina was very great. They gave his name to districts, towns, and mines; and we still find, on our maps, Anson County—Anson Ville—Anson's Mines. It is not improbable that while on this station he may have possessed some property, either by purchase or by grant. A letter addressed to him in London, 3rd October, 1747, when he was a member of the Board of Admiralty, by a Mr. Killpatrick, proves with what affectionate regard he was considered by the inhabitants of Carolina. The writer asks for nothing, but merely sends the translation of some work for his brother, Thomas Anson, Esq.

“The present intrusion of which I am guilty, and which your Lordship's goodness will pardon, is entirely owing to my being one of the many witnesses of your most benevolent and amiable disposition in America, before your merit had attained that just elevation, which all good men who truly know you, unfeignedly rejoice in. I cannot deny that there is some appearance of confidence in this address, but

your Lordship's justice will acquit me of any excessive assurance, from a recollection that, where your condescension and affability made you very generally accessible, my reserve prevented me from testifying that high esteem in person, which, upon my integrity, I ever consciously preserved for your just, honourable, and amiable demeanour among us. This, my Lord, cannot be the language of adulation; it was the incontestable sense of a province.

"Your Lordship will observe how I have disposed of some of my many too-frequent disengagements from a more profitable employment," &c. &c.: and he concludes by an assurance that "My greatest pleasure and ambition will be always to approve myself, with the utmost respect and deference,

"Your Lordship's, &c.

(Signed) "JAS. KILLPATRICK."

But the following character, given by a lady (Mrs. Hutchinson) of South Carolina, and extracted from a long letter written to her sister in London, and afterwards printed, proves the favourable light in which he was viewed by the settlers in that colony. At this period he must have been about thirty-two years of age:—

"Mr. Anson is not one of those handsome men, whose persons alone may recommend them to the generality of our sex, though they be destitute of sense, good nature, or good manners; but, nevertheless, I think his person is what you would call very agreeable.

He has good sense, good nature, is polite and well-bred; free from that troublesome ceremoniousness which often renders many people, who may perhaps rank themselves among the most accomplished, extremely disagreeable. He is generous without profusion, elegant without ostentation; and, above all, of a most tender, humane disposition. His benevolence is extensive, even to his own detriment. At balls, plays, concerts, &c., I have often the pleasure of seeing, and sometimes of conversing with, Mr. Anson, who, I assure you, is far from being an anchorite, though not what we call a modern pretty fellow, because he is really so old-fashioned as to make some profession of religion: moreover, he never dances, nor swears, nor talks nonsense. As he greatly admires a fine woman, so he is passionately fond of music; which is enough, you will say, to recommend him to my esteem; for you know I never would allow that a character could be complete without a taste for that *sweet science*.

“ Mr. Anson's modesty, inoffensive easy temper, good nature, humanity, and great probity, doubtless are the antidotes that preserve him from the poisonous breath of calumny; for, amidst all the scandalous warfare that is perpetually nourished here, he maintains a strict neutrality, and, attacking no party, is himself attacked by none.

“ But I would convince you that all I have already said, or shall hereafter say, of Mr. Anson, is not merely panegyrical. I will give you an account of

his faults, too, as well as of his virtues; for I have nowhere said he is an angel. In short, it is averred, that he loves his bottle and his friend so well, that he will not be very soon tired of their company, especially when they happened to be perfectly to his taste, which is pretty nice as to both: moreover, if fame says true, he is very far from being a woman-hater, and that now and then his mistress may come in for a share of him.

“ ‘ His heart, his mistress, and his friend did share;
His time, the Muse, the witty, and the fair.’ ”

Such was Captain Anson in his younger days. On his return from America he was not suffered long to remain idle. The *Guarland* (so spelt) being ordered to be paid off, he received a commission, in February, 1731, to command the *Squirrel*, in which he was employed on the home station; and, in August of the same year, was removed from her into the *Diamond*, a ship of 40 guns, which, soon after the signing of the treaty of peace, between Great Britain and Spain, concluded at Seville, was also paid off. He was reappointed to the *Squirrel* in the spring of 1733, and ordered to prepare forthwith for sea, intelligence having been received from Georgia of the intention of the Spaniards to attack that province. His instructions were to proceed to South Carolina for information, and, if the intelligence were true, to call to his assistance the ships stationed at Virginia, New York, and New England. In August, 1734,

he reports his having cruised along the coast of Georgia, calling at the several settlements as he passed along, and found the inhabitants under no apprehension of being disturbed by the Spaniards. In the month of June, 1735, he arrived at Spithead, and paid off the Squirrel; when, for the first time, during nineteen years since he received his first commission, he was allowed to remain between two and three years on shore.

The peace, however, which was concluded with Spain, might be considered as little better than a hollow truce. The depredations and insults, which the Spanish Guarda Costas had long been in the habit of committing on our trade in the West Indies, were still continued, and, as might naturally be expected, retaliation was resorted to by the commanders of British ships, whenever an equality of force encouraged it. This state of things went on for several years, and the Spaniards, not satisfied by plundering our commercial vessels, were loudly accused of maltreating the crews. Every arrival from that quarter brought complaints of atrocities committed by the Spaniards against British subjects, some of which were revolting to humanity. A general feeling of indignation was roused in the public mind, and petitions from the merchants were poured into the House of Commons. Representations were made to the Court of Madrid, which affected to send out such orders to the West Indies, as would put a stop to the

grievances complained of; but there was little sincerity in that Court, and accounts continued to be received of the Spaniards persisting to search British ships, under pretext of having on board contraband goods, and of treating the men in a cruel and barbarous manner. At length the British Government ordered four ships of 20 guns, and two sloops, to the West Indies, to be employed solely in the protection of our trade. It would not appear, however, that this small force was at all adequate to prevent the Spanish depredations in those seas, on the Spanish Main, and on the eastern coast of America. They continued to the year 1738, when the House of Commons determined to investigate the matter of complaint minutely, and to ascertain the exact number of British ships that had been seized and plundered, from the Treaty of Seville up to that time, specifying the names of the ships and masters, their estimated value, from whence trading, and where taken; stating also the extent and nature of the barbarous treatment practised against their masters and crews.

A circumstance was brought to light in the examinations that took place before the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the Spanish abuses, which created a deep feeling of indignation in the country. Captain Jenkins, master of the brig *Rebecca* of Glasgow, stated that, after the people of the Spanish *Guarda Costa* had maltreated his crew, they wantonly and brutally cut off

one of his ears, the captain of which put it into his hands, and told him in the most insolent manner to take it home and make a present of it to the king his master, whom, if he had him there, he would treat in the same manner. In addition to this savage act he was tortured in the most cruel manner, and threatened with immediate death. Being asked in the committee what his thoughts were in finding himself in the hands of such barbarians, he replied, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." This representation made by Jenkins, the sight of the ear, which he produced, and his account of the indignity which, in his person, had been insolently offered to the sovereign of Great Britain and the whole nation, filled the House with horror and indignation. Whether Jenkins's story was true or false, it was entertained by the House of Commons, and the report of it was received with universal indignation by the people of Great Britain. Jenkins certainly brought his ear home and exhibited it. Coxe,* however, is induced to believe, with Tindal, that "Jenkins lost his ear, or part of his ear, on another occasion, and pretended it had been cut off by a *Guarda Costa*." Whatever the case may have been, it occurred so long back as the year 1731, and was only brought forward in Parliament, in the year 1738, on occasion of these proceedings relating to the Spanish depredations; it seems therefore to have

* *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.*

made no impression at the time when it was stated to have been committed. Burke called it "the fable of Jenkins's ears," and Pope thus alludes to it—

"The Spaniards own they did a waggish thing,
Who cropp'd our ears, and sent them to the king."

The Spaniards, however, were not behind-hand with us in making their people believe an equally incredible story against our English captains. "An English captain, after having, by an act of perfidy, invited two Spanish gentlemen on board his ship, kept them two days fasting, to extort from them a ransom; but this expedient not succeeding, he cut off the ears and nose of one of them, and compelled him, with a knife at his throat, to swallow them,—a story which the Spaniards had a right to make use of by way of retaliation, and they did make use of it to some purpose."

These excesses, true or false, and the discussions in parliament respecting them, but more especially the breach by Spain of a convention which had been agreed upon, raised such a flame in the nation, that the result was, the issue of letters of marque and reprisal on the 21st July by the Admiralty; and on the 19th October, 1739, war was declared in due form against Spain. The declaration of war "was received by all ranks and distinctions of men with a degree of enthusiasm and joy, which announced the general frenzy of the nation."

Previous to this event, but not before a strong

probability of its speedy occurrence, Captain Anson, on the 9th December, 1737, was appointed to the command of the *Centurion*, a ship of 60 guns, and sent to the coast of Africa, with instructions to protect our merchants engaged in the gum-trade at Portendic from the constant interruptions and embarrassments thrown in their way by the French; and which are continued periodically and frequently to this day; and here he prevented the slaughter of some native Mahomedans by a French ship of war, just as she was commencing a fire upon them. He was also instructed to visit the several trading stations and forts along the coast; and, having so done, to proceed to Barbadoes, where he might expect to receive further orders. These orders were to recall him forthwith. The Ministry had resolved, at once to strike a blow against Spain, both at home and in her foreign possessions; and, as that nation was known to draw its principal resources, for enabling its government to carry on the war, from their several settlements in the West Indies, the South Seas, and Manilla, the administration decided on sending out two expeditions, to annoy the enemy at the same time in their South American possessions, and at Manilla, which were not only considered as of the first importance, but also the most vulnerable. For this purpose two officers were selected, who were deemed most competent for the efficient execution of this duty, to take command of the naval part of these expedi-

tions ; the one was Captain George Anson, the other Captain James Cornwall—both highly-esteemed officers, and the latter of whom, when subsequently commanding the Marlborough in the year 1743, gallantly fell, having had both his legs shot off.

The first of these projected expeditions was intended to be under the command of Anson, who arrived opportunely at Spithead on the 10th November, 1739, where he found a letter addressed to him by Admiral Sir Charles Wager, ordering him to proceed immediately to the Admiralty. He was there told that the squadron, to the command of which he would be appointed, was to take on board three independent companies of one hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot, the colonel of which would himself embark with it ;—that the object was to attack and carry Manilla ;—that a second squadron was intended to be sent round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, range along the western coast of South America, attacking the enemy in those parts, and attempting to take or destroy the Spanish settlements on that coast ; then to cross the Pacific, and form a junction with the former squadron at or near Manilla ; refresh and refit, and wait further orders. It is difficult to suppose that Sir Charles Wager could have been any party to so absurd a scheme—absurd even in our time, much more so when, after Magellan, one man only, the renowned Drake, had passed into and crossed the

Pacific Ocean. In the course of a week Anson received an order to take under his command the following ships:—

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
The Centurion	60	400	George Anson.
Argyle (changed for Gloucester)	50	300	Richard Norris.
Severn	50	300	Hon. E. Legge.
Pearl	40	250	Matt. Mitchel.
Wager	28	160	Dandy Kidd.
Tryal sloop	8	100	Hon. J. Murray.
Two pinks, as victuallers.			

This squadron Anson was ordered to victual and prepare for sea; but in January following he was again sent for to the Admiralty, and told by Sir Charles Wager, that the expedition to Manilla was laid aside. Anson, as may be conceived, was mortified excessively at this intelligence, until Sir Charles further acquainted him, that the other part of the plan was to go forward, and that he and the squadron which had been intended for the eastern, should be employed on the western expedition.

On the 10th January, 1740, he received his commission appointing him commodore of the squadron above mentioned, but he was not to wear a *broad* pendant, nor to have a captain under him. Delighted with this command, he forthwith set about its equipment, the victualling and manning of the ships, with the greatest alacrity; and was in a very short time so far advanced that, with the exception of a few seamen, and the marines or soldiers to be embarked, he was ready to put to sea the moment he should

receive his final orders. These orders, which, as it afterwards appeared, were dated the 31st January, were not delivered to him till the 28th June. They were given by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, signed by the King, and accompanied with an additional instruction, dated 19th June, from the Lords Justices, the King having departed for Hanover; and, as Sir Charles Wager had informed him, that an order was despatched to Sir John Norris, to spare him, from the fleet under his command, the number of seamen he was short in the squadron, amounting altogether to nearly three hundred, he had no doubt of being able to put to sea forthwith.

With this view he proceeded to Portsmouth, where, to his surprise, he was told by Sir John Norris that he could not have a single man, as he was in want of men for his own fleet. The order was repeated to Admiral Balchen, who had succeeded Sir John Norris, who said he could spare him only one hundred and seventy; and of these thirty-two were received out of the hospital; thirty-seven, with three officers, from Lowther's regiment; and ninety-eight were soldier-marines; and these were all he ever got towards completing his squadron. Moreover, instead of Bland's regiment, with three independent companies of one hundred men each, as land forces, it was now announced that five hundred invalids would be sent to him, collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea College. It was in vain to remonstrate against

this change, to represent the impolicy and inhumanity of sending such men on such an expedition, who, from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, were utterly unfit to bear the rigours of a passage round Cape Horn. Sir Charles Wager readily joined in the opinion, that invalids were in no way proper for the intended service, and solicited strenuously to have them changed; but he was told that persons, who were supposed to be better judges of *soldiers* than he or Mr. Anson could be, thought them the fittest men that could be employed on this occasion. The feelings of these excellent judges are not to be envied, when they were afterwards made acquainted with the fact, that not one of these unfortunat  individuals, who went on the voyage, survived to reach their native land—every man had perished.

It was not till the 5th August that these unfortunate beings were collected at Portsmouth, and ordered to embark; but, instead of 500, no more than 259 made their appearance on board; “for all those” (says the writer of the voyage) “who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth, deserted, leaving behind them only such as were literally invalids, most of them being sixty years of age, and some of them upwards of seventy.” “Indeed,” he says, “it is difficult to conceive a more moving scene than the embarkation of these unhappy veterans: they were themselves extremely averse to the service they were engaged in, and fully apprized of all the disasters

they were afterwards exposed to ; the apprehensions of which were strongly marked by the concern that appeared on their countenances, which was mixed with no small degree of indignation, to be thus hurried from their repose into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the strength of their bodies nor the vigour of their minds, were any way proportioned ; and where, without seeing the face of an enemy, or in the least promoting the success of the enterprise they were engaged in, they would in all probability uselessly perish by lingering and painful diseases ; and this, too, after they had spent the activity and strength of their youth in their country's service.”*

By imposing these decrepit and miserable objects on the commander of such an expedition, Anson must have felt himself extremely ill-used, and nothing but that feeling of duty and propriety in an officer not to decline any service, to which he has been appointed, could have prevailed on him to continue in it under such circumstances. But other mortifications were in reserve. To supply the place of the 240 invalids who had deserted, there were ordered on board his ships 210 marines detached from different regiments, all raw and undisciplined men just raised, with nothing more of the soldier about them than their regimentals, nor even so far trained as to be permitted to fire ; and still less were they acquainted with the miseries and inconveniences of a

* Anson's Voyage round the World.

landsman's life at sea. The last of these embarked on the 8th of August, and on the 10th the squadron dropped down to St. Helen's, ready for a start the moment the wind was fair. Here, however, another cause of delay occurred; the squadron was ordered to put to sea with Admiral Balchen's fleet, consisting of sixteen ships of war and one hundred and twenty sail of merchantmen and transports; but, on the 9th September, Anson was directed to proceed with his own squadron only; and again, on the 12th, he received further orders to take the St. Alban's and Turkey fleet, the Straits and American traders, at Torbay and Plymouth, and proceed with them as far as their several courses lay together. At length, on the 18th September, he weighed, and was fortunate enough to clear the Channel in four days.

These vexatious and prejudicial delays, both with regard to the manning of the ships and their subsequent detention, were in no way attributable to the Admiralty. Sir Charles Wager was equally eager with Anson to expedite the departure of the squadron, well knowing, as it afterwards appeared, that the particulars of its strength and destination had reached the Spanish settlements on the western coast of America, even before it left St. Helen's. The Spanish Government, as might have been foreseen, had provided and sent out a strong squadron of six ships of war under Admiral Pizarro, four of them of the line, to intercept Anson on his passage to Cape Horn; but the fate of this squadron was almost as

disastrous as that of Anson. In attempting to double Cape Horn, they were driven by a storm to the eastward, and dispersed altogether; three of them reached La Plata after many perils; two, with the loss of half their crews, and the third, the *Esperanza* of 50 guns, and 450 men, of which only 58 remained alive, while a whole regiment of foot she had on board perished except 60 men. One of the five was never heard of, and supposed to have foundered at sea; and one was wrecked on the coast of Brazil.

The calamities that attended Anson's squadron, after passing through the Straits of Magellan at an improper season of the year, were unquestionably owing, in a great degree, to the delay in leaving England; but many of them would have been avoided, had this passage then been as well understood as now, when the smallest ships of war, merchantmen, and whalers go round the Cape or through the Straits, at all seasons of the year. The ships of Anson were, however, most wretchedly manned; and Sir Charles Wager, an excellent seaman, and a man of good sound sense, could not contend with the Secretary of State and their Excellencies the Lords Justices, who appear to have taken entirely upon themselves the setting forth of this expedition. Anson, when at Spithead, ventured to send on shore two invalid officers, who from age and infirmity declared themselves incapable of doing any duty: he immediately received an order, by direction of the Lords

Justices, that they should again be received on board, and that no more should be dismissed.

Had Sir Charles Wager been a younger man, and possessed of that energy and vigour that is required from the head of so large and important a department, he might have succeeded in taking the equipment of the squadron out of the hands of their Excellencies, who could not be supposed to know much of the details of sea affairs; but, being in the seventy-sixth year of his age, that firmness of character, which he once possessed, he could hardly be expected to retain. He had served at sea upwards of fifty years, was fifteen years a Lord of the Admiralty, and nine years First Lord, having, in 1733, succeeded Lord Viscount Torrington in that situation. He died in 1743, leaving behind him the reputation of an excellent officer and an honest man, who, without having had the opportunity of performing any brilliant exploit, had done much good, been employed on varied services, and risen to the top of his profession solely and entirely by his own merits, unassisted by any powerful influence. A curious instance is mentioned by Walpole of his inflexible character, which he maintained to the very close of his existence.

“The day before the Westminster petition, Sir Charles Wager gave his son a ship, and the next day the father came down and voted against him. The son has since been cast away, but they concealed

it from the father, that he might not absent himself. However, as we have our good-natured men too on our side, one of his own countrymen went and told him of it in the House. The old man, who looked like Lazarus after his resuscitation, bore it with great resolution, and said, "he knew *why* he was told of it; but when he thought his country in danger he would not go away;" and Walpole adds, with one of his usual sneers, "It is unlucky for him not to have lived when such insensibility would have been a Roman virtue."*

The following instructions, signed by the King, ought to have been printed at the head of the authentic account of the voyage, especially as it was said by some that Anson had exceeded his instructions in burning Payta, and by others that he had failed in the execution of part of them. They are here given from the originals in the State Paper Office, not being found in the records of the Admiralty.

(Signed) "GEORGE R.

"Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved George Anson, Esq., Commander in Chief of our Ships designed to be sent into the South Seas in America. Given at our Court at St. James's the 31st day of January, 1739-40, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

"WHEREAS we have thought proper to declare war against the King of Spain, for the several injuries and indignities

* Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann, vol. i. p. 87.

offered to our crown and people, which are more particularly set forth in our declaration of war; and whereas, in pursuance thereof, we are determined to distress and annoy the said King of Spain and his subjects, in such manner and in such places as can be done with the greatest prospect of success, and the most to the advantage of our own subjects; we have thought fit to direct that you, taking under your command our ships hereafter mentioned, viz.: the Centurion, the *Argyle*, the Severn, the Pearl, the Wager, and the Tryal sloop, should proceed with them according to the following instructions.

“ You are to receive on board our said ships five hundred of our land-forces, and to proceed forthwith to the Cape de Verde Islands, and to supply your ships with water and such refreshments as are to be procured there; and you are from thence to make the best of your way to the Island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brazil, or such other place on that coast as you may be advised is more proper, where you are again to supply your ships with water and any other necessaries you may want that can be had there. And when you have so done, you are to proceed with our ships under your command into the South Sea, either round Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan, as you shall judge most proper, and according as the season of the year and winds and weather shall best permit.

“ When you shall arrive on the Spanish coast of the South Sea, you are to use your best endeavours to annoy and distress the Spaniards, either at sea or land, to the utmost of your power, by taking, sinking, burning, or otherwise destroying all their ships and vessels that you shall meet with, and particularly their boats, and all embarkations whatsoever, that they may not be able to send any intelligence by sea along the coast of your being in those parts.

“In case you shall find it practicable to seize, surprise, or take any of the towns or places belonging to the Spaniards on the coast, that you may judge worthy of making such an enterprise upon, you are to attempt it; for which purpose we have not only ordered the land-forces above mentioned, but have also thought proper to direct that an additional number of small arms be put on board the ships under your command, to be used, as occasion may require, by the crews of the said ships, or otherwise, as you shall find most for our service. And you are, on such occasions, to take the opinion of the captains of our ships under your command at a council of war; of which council of war, in case of any attack or enterprise by land, the commander of our land-forces shall also be one; which said land-forces shall, upon such occasions, be landed according to the determination of the said council of war; and, when on shore, shall be under the direction and conduct of the commanding officer of our land-forces, subject, however, to be recalled on board by any future determination of a council of war. And, as it will be absolutely necessary for you to be supplied with provisions and water when and where they can be had, you will inform yourself of the places where that can be most conveniently done; and, as we have been informed that the coasts of Chili, and particularly the island of Chiloe, do abound with provisions and necessaries of all sorts, you are to call there for that purpose.

“As it has been represented unto us that the number of native Indians on the coast of Chili greatly exceeds that of the Spaniards, and that there is reason to believe that the said Indians may not be averse to join with you against the Spaniards, in order to recover their freedom, you are to endeavour to cultivate a good understanding with such In-

dians as shall be willing to join and assist you in any attempt that you may think proper to make against the Spaniards that are established there.

“ You are to continue your voyage along the coast of Peru, and to get the best information you can whether there be any place, before you come to Lima, that may be worthy your attention, so as to make it advisable to stop at it; but if there be no place where any considerable advantage can be expected, you are then to go along the coast till you come to Calao, which is the port of Lima, taking or destroying all embarkations whatsoever that you shall meet with.

“ As soon as you shall arrive at Calao you shall consider whether it may be practicable to make an attempt upon that place or not; and if it shall be judged practicable by a council of war, to be held for that purpose, with the strength you have with you, to make an attack upon that port, you are accordingly to do it; and if it shall please God to bless our arms with success, you are then to endeavour to turn it to the best advantage possible for our service.

“ And whereas there is some reason to believe, from private intelligence, that the Spaniards in the kingdom of Peru, and especially in that part of it which is near Lima, have long had an inclination to revolt from their obedience to the King of Spain (on account of the great oppressions and tyrannies exercised by the Spanish viceroys and governors) in favour of some considerable person amongst themselves, you are, if you should find that there is any foundation for these reports, by all possible means to encourage and assist such a design in the best manner you shall be able: and in case of any revolution or revolt from the obedience of the King of Spain, either amongst the Spaniards or the Indians in those parts, and of any new government being erected by

them, you are to insist upon the most advantageous conditions for the commerce of our subjects to be carried on with such government so to be erected ; for which purpose you shall make provisional agreements, subject to our future approbation and confirmation.

“ But, in case you should not think proper to attack Calao, or should miscarry in any attempt you may make against that place, you are then to proceed to the northward as far as Panama ; but, as there are many places along the coast which are considerable, and where the Spanish ships, in their passage between Panama and Lima, do usually stop, it will be proper for you to look into those places, and to annoy the Spaniards there as much as it shall be in your power. And, if you shall meet with the Spanish men-of-war that carry the treasure from Lima to Panama, you are to endeavour to make yourself master of them.

“ When you are arrived at Panama, you will probably have an opportunity to take or destroy such embarkations as you shall find there ; and, as the town itself is represented not to be very strong, you are, if you shall think you have sufficient force for that purpose, to make an attempt upon that town, and endeavour to take it, or burn and destroy it, as you shall think most for our service.

“ And, as you may possibly find an opportunity to send privately, overland, to Portobello or Darien, you are by that means to endeavour to transmit to any of our ships or forces that shall be on that coast an account of what you have done or intend to do. And lest any such intelligence should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, we have ordered you to be furnished with a cipher, in which manner only you are to correspond with our admiral or the commander-in-chief of

any of our ships that may be in the northern seas of America, or the commander-in-chief of our land-forces.

“As we have determined to send a large body of troops from hence as early as possible in the spring, to make a descent on some part of the Spanish West Indies ; and as we shall have a very considerable fleet in those seas, in case it should be thought proper that any part of those ships or troops should go to Portobello or Darien with a design to send the said troops overland to Panama or Santa Maria, you are then to make the best disposition to assist them by all the means that you shall be able in making a secure settlement, either at Panama or any other place that shall be thought proper ; and you are, in such case, to supply them with cannon from the ships under your command (if necessary), or with anything else that can be spared without too much weakening the squadron ; and if the land-forces on board our said ships should be wanted to reinforce those that may come overland to the coast of the South Sea, you may cause them to go on shore for that purpose, with the approbation of the proper officers.

“When you shall have proceeded thus far, it must, in a great measure, be left to your discretion, and that of a council of war (when, upon any difficulty you shall think fit to call them together), to consider whether you shall go farther to the northward, or remain longer at Panama, in case the place should have been taken by our forces, or you can any way hear that any of our forces may be expected on that side from the north side. But you will always take particular care to consider of a proper place for careening of the ships, and for supplying them with provisions either for their voyage homeward or for their continuing longer abroad.

“ In case you shall be so happy as to meet with success, you shall take the first opportunity, by sending a ship on purpose, or otherwise, to acquaint us with it, and with every particular that may be necessary for us to be informed of, that we may take the proper measures thereupon.

“ If you shall find no occasion for your staying longer in those seas, and shall judge it best to go to the northward as far as Acapulco, or to look out for the Acapulco ship, which sails from that place for Manilla at a certain time of the year, and generally returns at a certain time also, you may possibly, in that case, think it most advisable to return home by the way of China, which you are hereby authorized to do, or to return home by Cape Horn, as you shall think best for our service, and for the preservation of the ships and the men on board them.

“ Whenever you shall judge it necessary for our service to return with our squadron to England, you may, if you shall think it proper, leave one or two of our ships in the South Sea for the security of any of the acquisitions you may have been able to make, or for the protection of the trade which any of our subjects may be carrying on in those parts.”

HARDWICKE, C.
WILMINGTON, P.
DORSET.

RICHMOND, LENNOX,
and AUBIGNAY.

MONTAGU.

DEVONSHIRE.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

PEMBROKE.

ILAY.

R. WALPOLE.

CHA. WAGER.

BY THE LORDS JUSTICES.

Additional Instructions for George Anson, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships to be sent into the South Seas in America. Given at Whitehall the 19th day of June, 1740, in the fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign.

“ WHEREAS His Majesty was pleased to sign certain instructions, bearing date the 31st day of January, 1739-40, directed to you, we have ordered the same to be herewith delivered to you, and have thought fit also to give you these additional instructions for your conduct.

“ His Majesty having been pleased to suspend your sailing from England till this time, when the season of the year will permit you to make your intended voyage directly to the South Seas in America (which at some particular seasons is extremely difficult, if not impracticable), you are now to proceed forthwith, with His Majesty's ships under your command, directly to the South Seas, either by going round Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan, and to act according to the directions contained in His Majesty's instructions to you. But you are to regard that part of the said instructions whereby you were ordered (in case you should be too late for your passage to the South Seas) to proceed directly to the River Plata, and there to remain till the season of the year should permit you to go with safety to the South Seas, to be at present out of the question, and of no force. And whereas you are directed by His Ma-

jesty's instructions to cause the land-forces, which are to go on board His Majesty's ships under your command, to be put on shore, on one particular occasion, with the approbation of the proper officers, you are to understand it to be His Majesty's intention that the said land-forces are in no case to be put on shore, unless it shall be previously approved by a council of war to be held for that purpose.

“Whereas a letter written by the Governor of Panama to the King of Spain has fallen into the hands of some of his Majesty's officers, which letter contains very material advices relating to the situation of the Spaniards, and to the keeping of their treasure in those parts, a copy of the same will, by our order, be herewith put into your hands; and you are to have a regard to the intelligence therein contained in the execution of the orders given you in his Majesty's instructions.

“In case of your inability, by sickness or otherwise, to execute his Majesty's orders, the officer next to you in rank is hereby authorized and directed to take upon him the command of his Majesty's ships that are to go with you; and to execute the orders contained in your instructions, as if they were directed to himself.”

CHAPTER II.

THE VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

Expedition sails and arrives at Madeira—Early appearance of sickness—St. Catharine's—St. Julian—Strait of Magellan—Tremendous storm—Scurvy—Socoro—Juan Fernandez—Arrival of the Tryal and Gloucester—Beauty of the island—Recovery of the surviving part of the crews—Number dreadfully reduced—Several prizes taken—Arrives off Paita—Attacks and burns the town—Anson's conduct towards his prisoners—to some young ladies—Good result of it—Anson's generosity—Proceeds to the coast of California—Measures to intercept the Acapulco ship—Bad condition of the Gloucester—Removes her men and stores, and sets fire to her—Dreadful condition of Centurion from scurvy—The island Tinian—Beauty and fertility of—Centurion driven out to sea—Transactions thereupon—Returns—Men healthy—Proceed to Macao—Ship refitted—Sails to look out for the Galeon—Meets, fights, and captures her—Carries her into China—Transactions there—Parallel of Anson's voyage with Drake's—Some remarks on scurvy, and on the defective state of nautical science—Shipwreck of the Wager—Disasters which befel the commander and officers—and also those of the mutinous crew—Act to continue the crews of ships wrecked, &c., on full pay and under martial law.

1740 to 1744.

By having charge of the convoys, and owing to the long continuance of contrary winds, the passage to Madeira was prolonged to forty days, which is usually made in ten or twelve. At this island Anson remained about a week, taking in wine and other refreshments; and here Captain Norris requested permission to resign the command of the Gloucester, and return to England for the recovery of his health,

which gave a remove to the rest of the captains, and the command of the Tryal to Lieutenant Cheap. On the 3rd November Anson left Madeira, and on the 16th discharged one of the Pinks, at the request of the master, who stated that the time of the charter-party was arrived. On the 20th of that month the first mention occurs of that dreadful sickness, of the continuance and fatal effects of which there is no parallel in the annals of navigation. It is stated that "the captains of the squadron represented to the commodore that their ships' companies were very sickly, and that it was their own opinion, as well as their surgeons', that it would lead to the preservation of the men to let in more air between decks; for their ships were so deep, that they could not possibly open their lower ports. On this representation the commodore ordered six air-scuttles to be cut in each ship, in such places where they would least weaken it." On the 21st December they reached the island of St. Catharine's on the coast of Brazil. On their passage thither a number of men died of fever and dysentery, and eighty sick were landed there from the Centurion alone; and as many, in proportion, from the rest of the squadron. The ships were all now smoked, cleansed, and washed with vinegar, their sides and decks caulked, and new standing-rigging set up. These operations, with wooding and watering, occupied a month. A melancholy proof of the unhealthiness of this anchorage, or

perhaps of the rapid progress of a disease already caught, was afforded on ascertaining, when the tents were struck, that no less than twenty-eight of the Centurion's men had died, and the number of sick, in the same interval, increased from eighty to ninety-six ; but it is too obvious that the seeds of the disease had been sown, from the day that the miserable invalids had inhumanly been forced into a service, for which they were utterly unfitted.

Port St. Julian was appointed as the first rendezvous, in the passage to which the Pearl parted company in a violent gale of wind, and the Tryal lost her mainmast. On the 18th January the Pearl joined, and the commodore learned from the commanding officer that he had buried Captain Kidd on the 31st of the preceding month ; that he had seen, on the 10th, off Pepys' Island, five large ships, and, thinking them to be those of Anson, ran within gun-shot before he discovered his mistake, when he stood away and was chased the whole day, but towards evening they hauled to the southward. This was afterwards ascertained to be Pizarro's squadron.

On the 19th they reached St. Julian's, and the commodore despatched an officer to examine and report on the salt-pond described by Sir John Narborough : he brought back a very bad sample ; and all that the boats could procure during their stay was about forty bushels. It was here decided, at a council of war, in the first place to attack Valdivia ;

that the rendezvous was to be off the island of Socoro, each ship to continue cruising off the south end of that island fourteen days, and, if not joined by the rest of the squadron, to make the best of her way to the island of Juan Fernandez. "On the 7th March," says Anson (in his official report), "I entered the Straits La Maire with a favourable gale and fine weather; but had no sooner got through the Straits than I met very hard gales of wind from the high lands of Terra del Fuego; insomuch, that I was obliged to reef my courses, which continued reefed fifty-eight days."

This is all that Anson says in his 'report' of proceedings; but Mr. Robins dwells on the fine weather of the Straits and the open sea before them "till we arrived [should arrive] on those opulent coasts where all our hopes and wishes centered; and we could not help flattering ourselves, that the greatest difficulty of our passage was now at an end, and that our most sanguine dreams were upon the point of being realised; and hence we indulged our imaginations in those romantic schemes, which the fancied possession of the Chilian gold and Peruvian silver might be conceived to inspire."***"Thus animated by these delusions, we traversed these memorable Straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities that were then impending, and just ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near when the squadron would be separated never to unite again, and that

this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would ever live to enjoy."

The description of the storm, which kept the *Centurion's* courses reefed for "fifty-eight days," is wrought up to the highest pitch of the sublime and terrific. Even Mr. Pascoe Thomas, the schoolmaster, who is not gifted with much power of imagination, says, that until the 25th May "we had nothing but the most terrible and dreadful storms that I believe it is possible for the mind of man to conceive, and far beyond my capacity to describe in such a lively manner as might seem to render them present to the view of the reader in their true colours. . . . The ship rolled almost gunnel to continually; the sails were almost always splitting and blowing from the yards; the yards themselves frequently breaking; the shrouds and other rigging cracking and flying in pieces continually; and, what added to our misery amidst those amazing and terrifying scenes, we made very little way to the westward and northward."* In these tremendous gales of wind, accompanied with sleet and snow, driven sometimes to the southward, and in all directions except the right one, the *Centurion* lost sight of the *Gloucester*, *Wager*, *Tryal*, and *Pink*; the *Severn* and *Pearl*, having parted in the middle of these gales, were never seen again, which was also the case of the *Wager*. The wreck of this ship,

* "Voyage to the South Seas, and round the World."

and the varied adventures and misfortunes of her crew, form a distressing and interesting episode, and are in perfect unison with those that befel the Centurion and the rest of the squadron; but further notice of these missing ships will be taken hereafter.

Anson, in his report of 31st March, mentions, for the first time, his "men falling down every day with *scorbutic* complaints;" but on the 8th May, he says, "he had not men able to keep the deck, sufficient to take in a topsail, all being violently afflicted with the scurvy, and every day lessening our number by six, eight, and ten." In the narrative of the voyage it is stated that "in the month of May our sufferings rose to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we consider the violence of the storms, the shattering of our sails and rigging, or the diminishing or weakening of our crew by deaths and sickness, and the probable prospect of our total destruction." It is then stated that, in the month of April, no less than forty-three of the crew died of the scurvy on board the Centurion; and that, in the month of May, there perished nearly double that number; "and," the narrative continues, "as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increasing, and the disease extended itself so prodigiously, that, after the loss of above two hundred men, we could not at last muster more than six foremast-men in a watch capable of duty."

Commodore Anson, or rather Mr. Robins, de-

scribes the general symptoms of scurvy to be, large discoloured spots dispersed over the whole surface of the body, swelled legs, putrid gums and, above all, an extraordinary lassitude of the whole body, especially after any exercise, however inconsiderable; and this lassitude at last degenerates into a proneness to swoon on the least exertion of strength, or even on the least motion. He says also that this disease is usually attended with a strange dejection of the spirits and with shiverings, tremblings, and a disposition to be seized with the most dreadful terrors on the slightest accident; that whatever discouraged the people or damped their hopes added vigour to the distemper and usually killed those who were in the last stages of it. "So that it seemed as if alacrity of mind and sanguine thoughts were no contemptible preservatives from its fatal malignity." It was observed that wounds, which had been healed many years, broke out afresh by this dreadful disease. A remarkable instance occurred in one of the invalids, who had been wounded more than fifty years before at the battle of the Boyne; his wounds assumed the appearance of never having been cured, and, what is more astonishing, the callous of a broken bone, which had been completely formed for a long time, was found to be dissolved! He mentions others who, though confined to their hammocks, would eat and drink heartily, were cheerful and talked with seeming vigour, and yet,

on being the least moved, even in their hammocks, have immediately expired: some, confiding in their apparent strength, died in the act of getting out of their hammocks; several who were able to do some trifling duty dropped down instantly while in the execution of it, many having perished in this manner during the course of the voyage.

On the 8th May Anson arrived off the island of Socoro, the first rendezvous, where he hoped to have fallen in with some of his dispersed squadron, but, after cruising for many days, and none of them appearing, the gloomy suggestion occurred to him that they had all perished. The land wore a tremendous aspect; the Cordilleras of the Andes were covered with snow; the coast rocky and barren, and being utterly unknown to them, and the westerly gales prevailing, they continued for a fortnight in imminent peril of the loss of the ship and of their lives. By this time the scurvy had destroyed a great part of the crew, and almost all the remaining part were so much affected with it, that they could with great difficulty work the ship. All the various disasters, fatigues, and terrors that here befell them, continued to increase till the 22nd May, when the fury of all the storms seemed to combine in one tremendous hurricane, that threatened instant destruction to the ship; but this was the last effort of this stormy climate. Anson having in vain spent a fortnight in expectation of the other ships, the deplor-

able situation of his own left no further room for deliberation, and he determined therefore to steer for the island of Juan Fernandez.

It was resolved, he says, if possible, "to hit the island on a meridian." Being nearly on the parallel on the 28th May, they expected to see it. Anson himself was strongly persuaded that he did see it on the morning of that day; but the officers, believing it to be only a cloud, and that they were too far to the westward, it was decided, after consultation, to stand to the eastward in the parallel of the island; the consequence was that, in two days, they made the high land of the Cordilleras of Chili, covered with snow, just at the moment they expected to see the island of Juan Fernandez. This mistake was attended with a most fatal result, "for," says the narrative, "the mortality amongst us was now increased to a most dreadful degree, and those who remained alive were utterly dispirited by this new disappointment, and the prospect of their longer continuance at sea." They were in fact nine days in regaining the westerly distance which they had run down in two. "In this desponding condition, with a crazy ship, a great scarcity of fresh water, and a crew so universally diseased, that there were not above ten foremast-men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame and unable to go aloft—under these disheartening circumstances we stood to the westward; and on the 9th June, at day-

break, we at last discovered the long-wished-for island of Juan Fernandez. In consequence of the error of standing east instead of west "we lost," says the narrator, "between seventy and eighty of our men, whom we should doubtless have saved, had we made the island that day (28th May), which, had we kept on our course a few hours longer, we could not have failed to have done."

On making this island, we are told that, "out of two hundred and odd men, which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muster hands enough to work the ship on an emergency, though we included the officers, their servants, and the boys. In wearing the ship in the middle watch, we had a melancholy instance of the almost incredible debility of our people; for the lieutenant could muster no more than two quartermasters and six foremast-men capable of working, so that, without the assistance of the officers, servants, and the boys, it might have proved impossible for us to have reached the island, after we had got sight of it—to so wretched a condition was a sixty-gun ship reduced, which had passed the Straits La Maire but three months before with between four and five hundred men, almost all of them in health and vigour." As they approached the island and discovered the hills crowned with woods, and between them the finest valleys, clothed with most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous streams and cascades,

it is not difficult to imagine with what eagerness and transport the suffering crew viewed the shore. "Those only," says Mr. Robins, "who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recall the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near a hundred feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship. Even those among the diseased who were not in the last stages of the distemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted the small remains of strength that was left them, and crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with this reviving prospect."

The Centurion had scarcely dropped anchor when the Tryal sloop made her appearance. A few men were sent to assist her to an anchorage. Captain Saunders, her commander (who had succeeded Commander Kidd), waiting on the Commodore, informed him that, out of his small complement of one hundred men, he had buried thirty-four; and those that remained were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men, were able to stand by the sails. It was the 16th before the tents on shore could be prepared for the reception of the sick, but on that and two following days they were all on shore, amounting to a

hundred and sixty-seven persons, besides at least a dozen who died in the boats on their being exposed to the fresh air. To carry these poor creatures in their hammocks to the tents, over a stony beach, was a work of great fatigue, in which Anson, with his accustomed humanity, not only assisted with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without distinction, to lend their helping hands.

Twenty days elapsed, notwithstanding all the refreshments of vegetables of various kinds, fish, and fresh meat of goats, which abounded on the island, before the mortality had tolerably ceased ; and, “ for the first ten or twelve days, we buried rarely less than six each day, and many of those who survived recovered by very slow and insensible degrees.” On the 21st June a ship was discovered from the heights, which turned out to be the Gloucester. The Commodore immediately ordered his boat to her assistance, laden with fresh water, fish, and vegetables, which proved a most seasonable relief, for her crew were reduced to a most distressful situation. “ They had already thrown overboard two-thirds of their complement, and of those that remained alive scarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their servants.” The situation of this ship was most deplorable : with all the assistance that Anson could afford her in provisions and water, by boats and men, and all the attempts that were made, she could not be brought into the bay for a whole fort-

night. Even after this, she disappeared for the space of a week, and every hope of her safety vanished : however, she again approached, and the Centurion's long-boat was again sent off with a supply of water and provisions. "Had it not been for this last supply by our long-boat, both the healthy and diseased must have all perished together for want of water ; and these calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy ; for the Gloucester had already spent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and she was now no further advanced than at the first moment she made the island." In short, she once more disappeared, and did not get to an anchor till the 23rd July. Her crew were now reduced to less than fourscore.

On the 16th August they were joined by the *Anna pink*, the crew generally in good health, the mystery of which was soon solved on its being made known that she had been in harbour since the middle of May, within the island of Inchin, where, by recruiting the people with vegetables and fresh provisions, the survivors were soon restored to perfect health. The bread and other articles of food, which had been put into the *Anna pink*, were of the greatest possible use to the three ships which were now collected at Juan Fernandez.

To men who, by their sufferings, had been reduced to the verge of death, and who had not set foot on land for the space of more than one hundred days,

Juan Fernandez appeared like,—what it has been described—an earthly paradise. The woods, the groves, the aromatic shrubs, the limpid streams, the great variety of vegetable productions, of indigenous growth, as well as the remains of cultivation, all conspired to make the crew not only forget their long suffering, but to instill into the minds of the most reduced a hope of speedy recovery. Thomas indeed speaks of the appearance of the island and its productions in terms of unqualified rapture, and thinks “there can scarce anywhere be found a more happy seat for the Muses, and the flights of fancy, or pleasures of the imagination;” so that poor Selkirk did not find it to be that barren and desolate abode which has been supposed and described. From the detailed description which the narrative of the voyage, as well as Pascoe Thomas, gives of the plants and animals fit for the sustenance of man, Selkirk must have lived in a state of luxury. In addition to the numerous fruits and vegetables, seals and sea-lions abound, the flesh of which is good and palatable, and that of the goats, which were numerous, is described as excellent. Selkirk says that, when he caught more of these animals than he wanted, he slit their ears and let them go; and it is stated in the narrative that the first goat killed by Anson’s people had his ears slit, which made them conclude that, “although thirty-two years must have passed over his head, he had once

been in Selkirk's hands." "It was indeed an animal of a most venerable aspect, dignified with an exceeding majestic beard, and with many other symptoms of antiquity."*

About the beginning of September, after a residence on the island of 104 days, the exact number the *Centurion* had previously been at sea from St. Julian, the ships were ready to proceed, the sickness had entirely ceased, and those men that remained alive had recovered their usual health and strength; but they were a lamentable fraction only of the original crews which had left England. The *Centurion* had buried two hundred and ninety-two, and had now left two hundred and fourteen. The *Gloucester* had lost the same number as the *Centurion*, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. The *Tryal* had buried forty-two, and had thirty-nine remaining alive. "The havoc of this disease had fallen still severer on the invalids and marines, than on the sailors; for on board the *Centurion*, out of fifty invalids and seventy-nine marines, there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines; and on board the *Gloucester*, every invalid had perished; and out of forty-eight marines only two escaped. From this account it appears that the three ships together departed from England with nine hundred and sixty-one men on board, of whom six

* Byron, on his voyage round the world, found numerous goats on the adjacent island of *Massafuero*, with slit ears.

hundred and twenty-six were dead before this time."

A man, less gifted with the equanimity and steady perseverance which strongly distinguished the character of Anson, must have quailed at the reflection, that the whole of the surviving crews, which were now to be distributed among three ships, amounted to no more than three hundred and thirty-five men and boys, a number barely sufficient for the mere navigation of the three, with the utmost exertion of their strength and vigour; and that he might have to encounter the whole or part of Pizarro's squadron, with whose disasters he was yet unacquainted. As to attacking any of the Spanish possessions, that was now wholly out of the question, and even the Acapulco ship might be found too powerful for his reduced and nearly helpless squadron. To reflect on these matters must have grievously distressed the mind of such a man as Anson; to return home, without effecting any part of his instructions, would be still more grievous; but the cup of bitterness was full to the brim, when the thought occurred of "leaving our enemies to triumph on the inconsiderable mischief they had received from a squadron, whose equipment had filled them with such dreadful apprehensions; though the causes of *our* disappointment, and *their* security, were neither to be sought for in their valour nor our misconduct."

Under painful reflections of this kind, unaccompanied however with anything like despondency, preparations were made for leaving Juan Fernandez, under the following disposition—the Tryal to proceed off Valparaiso; the Gloucester to cruise off the high land of Païta, where, at a certain fixed time, she would be joined by the Centurion and the Tryal. This latter ship fell in with, and captured, the Nuestra Señora del Monti Carmel, with twenty-five passengers on board. The Centurion on her cruise fell in with another prize of the Tryal, called the Arranzuga, of 600 tons burthen; and, as the Tryal herself, on joining, was found to have sprung all her masts, and was in so leaky a state as with difficulty to be kept afloat, Anson ordered her stores, guns, and ammunition to be put into her prize, and commissioned the latter as a frigate in his Majesty's navy, under the name of the Tryal's Prize; and, the crew being transferred to her, the Tryal was scuttled and sunk. The Centurion chased and captured another Spanish ship of 300 tons, called Santa Theresa de Jesus, with forty-five hands, and ten passengers, four men and three women, born of Spanish parents, and three black female slaves attending them; the ladies were a mother and two daughters, the eldest about 21, the youngest about 14. Not knowing but that they had fallen into the hands of some Buccaneers, whom they had been taught to consider as the most terrible and brutal of human kind, these

ladies became excessively alarmed. The singular beauty of the youngest served to increase their alarm. On being boarded by an officer, they concealed themselves, and with difficulty were prevailed upon to appear before him, who assured them they had nothing to fear; that they would experience the most honourable treatment from the Commodore,

As soon as Mr. Anson was made acquainted with the circumstance, he gave immediate directions that these ladies should remain on board their own ship, with every convenience they had hitherto enjoyed, without the slightest molestation from any quarter; that the pilot, the second in command, should stay with them as their guardian and protector. Beautiful as the youngest lady was described to him, he declined seeing her, but desired that they would rest assured of his protection, and that so long as they remained in his custody all their wants should be supplied. "By this compassionate and indulgent behaviour of the Commodore, the consternation of our female prisoners entirely subsided, and they continued easy and cheerful during the whole time they were with us."

In proceeding to join the other two ships off Paita, the Centurion fell in with a ship, which was chased by the boats, and taken possession of. She was called the *Nuestra Senhora del Carmin*, manned with forty-three seamen, and had on board a valuable cargo, which, with the ship, was estimated at 400,000

dollars. She had left Paita the preceding day, and, from the information obtained, Anson determined to attack that town, and take it by surprise ; — to demand from the governor a ransom for the public property deposited there, which he knew from his prisoners to be considerable, and to spare the poor inhabitants the distress that an attack must occasion them. The idea of returning to Europe, with the pitiful spoils of a few merchant-vessels, was too humiliating to be endured for a moment ; and, reduced as his squadron was in ships, and infinitely more in men, he fully resolved on attempting something, that might justify the government for having fitted out so large a squadron, though so inadequately manned, even if disease had not thinned their ranks.

Lieutenant Brett was appointed to command this enterprise, for which the eighteen-oared barge and two pinnaces, with fifty-eight picked men, were despatched, well provided with arms and ammunition. Landing in the darkness of the night, the shouts, and clamours, and huzzas of threescore British seamen, on shore for the first time in an enemy's country, joined by the noise of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at least three hundred men. The first step was to surround the governor's house, in order, if possible, to secure him, conformably with Anson's instructions, while Lieutenant Brett marched to the fort, which, after two or three random shots,

was already abandoned; he then proceeded to the custom-house, to get possession of the treasure which was lodged there. The inhabitants, being in bed when the place was surprised, had mostly run away without giving themselves time to put on their clothes. "In this precipitate rout the governor was not the last to secure himself; for he fled betimes, half-naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him; though she too was afterwards carried off in her shift by a couple of sentinels, just as the detachment ordered to invest the house arrived before it."

In the morning, as the Centurion approached the bay, Anson had the pleasure of seeing the English flag flying in the fort, and soon after one of the boats came off laden with dollars and church-plate. While the collecting and shipping of treasure and other valuables were going on, the enemy, with some two hundred horse, were collected on a hill contiguous to the town, apparently well trained, being furnished with trumpets, drums, and standards, but they never once ventured to leave the crest of the hill. Anson sent several messages to the governor by those few inhabitants who had remained in the town, desiring him to come and treat for the ransom of the town and merchandise, intimating that, in order not to distress the inhabitants, he would be satisfied with a supply of live cattle and a few necessaries for the use of the

squadron; but he remained stubborn, and refused to send any answer; so that at length Anson caused him to be informed that, if he would not condescend to treat for the ransom of a place, fully in his possession, he should set fire to the town. On the third morning the boats were employed in bringing off the most valuable part of the effects that remained, when the Commodore sent orders to Lieutenant Brett to set the town on fire, with the exception of two churches situated at a short distance, after which to come on board with all hands. This order was forthwith executed, and Païta, with all its treasures that could not be carried off, was consumed and left a heap of ruins. The narrative says, "The wrought plate, dollars, and other coin, which fell into our hand, amounted to upwards of 30,000*l.* sterling, besides several rings, bracelets, and jewels, whose intrinsic value we could not determine." It was afterwards stated at Madrid, that the value of the merchandise destroyed was estimated at a million and a half of dollars.

Among the prisoners taken in the Centurion's prizes were some persons of considerable distinction, particularly a youth of about seventeen years of age, son of the vice-president of the council of Chili. The barbarity of the Buccaneers had filled the minds of all these people with the most terrible ideas of English cruelty, and they were at first dejected and under great horror and anxiety. This youth in particular,

having never before been from home, lamented his captivity in the most moving manner, the loss of his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native land, of all of which he was fully persuaded he had taken his last farewell. Anson, with that kindly disposition so conspicuous in his character, exerted his best endeavours to efface these inhuman impressions the prisoners had conceived of them; "always taking care that as many of the principal people among them, as there was room for, should dine at his table by turns; and giving the strictest orders too that they should at all times, and in every circumstance, be treated with the utmost decency and humanity. The youth above mentioned, having been nearly two months on board, had so far conquered his melancholy surmises, and had conceived so strong an affection for Mr. Anson, that it seemed doubtful whether he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the *Centurion* to being set on shore at Paita."

But the gratitude of the mother and the young ladies taken in the *Maria Theresa* was most marked. Though the two daughters were esteemed handsome, and the youngest celebrated for her uncommon beauty, Anson abstained from visiting them, perhaps not venturing to trust himself within the influence of such charms, after a period of ten months, during which he had not set eyes upon a female face. But it appears he had another and more generous mo-

tive—to prevent the breath of slander from their own countrymen affecting the character of these ladies, he resolved on prohibiting all intercourse with them, either by himself or his officers. This behaviour to the women was considered, by a Jesuit prisoner of some distinction, to be so extraordinary, and so extremely honourable, that he doubted whether the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character would be sufficient to render it credible. The ladies, however, were so sensible of the obligations they owed Anson, for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they absolutely refused to go on shore till they had been permitted to wait on him, on board the *Centurion*, to return their thanks in person. We have heard a great deal of the continence of Scipio Africanus, when that conqueror of Spain refused to see a beautiful princess that had fallen into his power. If Anson, under the circumstances of the times and country, be denied the meed of praise bestowed on the Roman general, as an example of stern Roman virtue, he was amply repaid for his generosity and humanity to his prisoners, by their cordial and grateful remembrance of his treatment, which was applauded and circulated through every corner of Spanish America. Nothing could surpass the kindness and attention bestowed by the Spaniards on the shipwrecked officers of the *Wager*,—Captain Cheap, the Hon. George Byron, and Lieutenant Hamilton.—All their necessities were cheer-

fully supplied, and whatever money they stood in need of was advanced to them ; and even to this day the name of Anson is held in the highest respect in the Spanish provinces of America, while the fate of Païta is forgotten, or, if remembered, is so chiefly to reprobate the obstinacy of its governor.

Scarcely had the Centurion left Païta to proceed to the westward, when jealousy and angry feelings broke out between that part of the crew which remained on board, and those who were engaged in the attack upon that town ; the one claiming the plunder, on account of the fatigues and dangers they had undergone ; the other urging that they would have been equally ready to have taken an active part, had it been left to their choice. Here again we have an instance of the extreme generosity of Anson. On being informed of this dispute, he ordered all hands on deck, told them that, however praiseworthy the conduct of those on shore had been, yet they must be aware that, without the presence of the ship to convey them thither and receive them afterwards, they could have done nothing, and that the plunder must therefore be impartially divided among the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commission ; " And," says he, " to prevent those who had been in possession of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their share, and as an encouragement to others who may hereafter be em-

ployed on like services, I give my entire share to be distributed among those who have been detached for the attack on the place."

The next day (18th November) the Centurion fell in with the Gloucester, who had taken two small prizes, the one containing treasure to the amount of 12,000*l.*, the other of 7000*l.* From one of the prizes, information was obtained that an attack had been made on Carthagena, and had failed, which rendered the project of co-operating with the forces on the other side of the isthmus of Panama, as directed by the instructions, unavailable. It was resolved therefore to proceed to the coast of California, to cruise for the Manilla galeon, which was bound to the port of Acapulco. The two ships proceeded to Quibo, near Panama, to take in water, having first emptied the two prizes, the *Solidad* and *San Theresa*, and set fire to them. Two others were still preserved, which, with the Centurion, Gloucester, and Tryal, made up a squadron of five ships, with very inadequate crews, it is true, but all in good health. At Quibo they got an abundant supply of turtle, sufficient to last the crews of all the ships four months; and it is observed that, in the seven months from their leaving Juan Fernandez to their anchoring in the harbour of Chequetan, they buried no more, in the whole squadron, than two men—"a most incontestable proof," says the narrator, "that the turtle

on which we fed for the last four months of this term, was at least innocent, if not something more."

It is unnecessary to dwell on the anxious watchings, the judicious measures, and the incessant attention of every one in this little squadron to discover and attack the Acapulco galeon on her putting to sea; but four months having passed away from the time of leaving Quibo, there remained but six days' water on board; they therefore put into the harbour of Chequetan, about thirty leagues to the westward of Acapulco. Here they obtained both wood and water, and such provisions of fish, guanacos, and whatever else the country afforded, that by the end of April they were prepared for the prosecution of their voyage across the Pacific; first, however, having cleared the three prizes, the Carmel, the Carmin, and the Tryal Prize, which being rather an encumbrance than of any probable utility, all three were scuttled; and, on the 28th April, the Centurion and the Gloucester proceeded on their voyage to the westward, having first landed their prisoners near Acapulco, amounting to fifty-seven persons.

"On the 15th June," says the Commodore, in his official report, "the Gloucester found her mainmast sprung at the head, which, upon examination, was discovered to be entirely rotten. On the 29th July, the Gloucester carried away her foretopmast, and foreyard. My ship's company are now miserably afflicted with the scurvy, the ship very leaky, the men and

officers that were well being only able to make one spell at the pump." This is all that Anson says of the second attack of this afflicting malady, but, coming from the Commodore, it speaks volumes. The narrative enters more into detail. The ships' crews had, from the time of leaving Juan Fernandez till their departure from the coast of Mexico, enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health; but they appear to have been fully aware that nothing but a short passage across the Pacific could secure the greater part of their remaining crews from perishing by the return of the horrible disease. And as, after seven weeks at sea, they were still no nearer the trade-wind than when they first set out, they had but too much reason to conclude that the passage would prove at least three times as long as they at first expected; "and consequently we have the melancholy prospect either of dying by the scurvy, or perishing with the ship for want of hands to navigate her." On the 26th July, after the disasters of the Gloucester's masts, Captain Mitchell hailed the Commodore, to say the ship had no less than seven feet water in the hold. A boat was sent on board, when it appeared, from the report of the officer, that, considering the leaky state of the ship, and the distresses of her people, nothing was left but to remove the whole of her crew into the Centurion, and to destroy the Gloucester. Of that crew, in fact, there remained alive no more than seventy-seven men, eighteen boys,

and two prisoners, officers included ; and that, of this whole number, only sixteen men and eleven boys were capable of keeping the deck, and several of these very infirm.

The removal of these poor people, and of such of the stores as could most easily be got at, gave full employment for two days. Three or four of the sick died while in the act of hoisting them into the *Centurion*. To prevent the ship from falling into the hands of the enemy, on being abandoned, Captain Mitchell set fire to her ; she burned fiercely the whole night, and about six the following morning a black pillar of smoke was observed, which shot into the air to a very considerable height ; a small report was heard at the same time, and she blew up and disappeared. Thus perished his Majesty's ship the *Gloucester*. Anson's squadron, of five ships when it left the coast of Mexico, was now reduced to a single ship, containing the crews of the whole. The storm that had proved so fatal to the *Gloucester*, it was found, had driven the *Centurion* four degrees to the northward of her course ; several days of calm succeeded, and they were entirely ignorant whether they were to windward or leeward of the Ladrone Islands. The number of deaths had now become extremely alarming, no day passing in which they did not bury eight or ten and sometimes twelve of the crew. Pascoe Thomas gives a most melancholy picture of their condition, aggravated by the additional number

of the diseased men received from the Gloucester. "The dirt, nauseousness, and stench almost everywhere intolerable, more people daily disabled by the disease, no sign of land, very little wind, and that not fair, very bad provisions and water, and the ship very leaky."* The appearance of an island afforded a momentary consolation, and a boat was speedily sent to examine it: all was barren, a dreadful disappointment to the sick, tending to destroy their hopes, and increase the horrors of the disease.

At length, on the 28th August, they approached Tinian, one of the Ladrone Islands. A proa being observed, the pinnace was sent towards the shore with Spanish colours flying, on which the proa made towards her; the latter had on board a Spanish serjeant and four Indians. From this officer they learned that the island produced various kinds of vegetables and fruits, sweet and sour oranges, lemons, limes, cocoa-nuts, and the bread-fruit; that there was plenty of water, and a vast number of cattle, hogs, and poultry running wild; that it served, in fact, as a kind of provision-store for the Spanish garrison at the neighbouring island of Guam. Such an account was of course received with inexpressible joy. Some Indians on shore were employed in jerking beef, and a bark was at anchor to receive it. The Indians, however, decamped, but their huts and a large storehouse were taken possession of, which

* Voyage to the South Seas.

spared the Centurion's people the time and trouble of erecting tents. The store was converted into an hospital for the sick, who now amounted to one hundred and twenty-eight; many of them so very helpless as to require being carried from the boats on the shoulders of the less infirm to the hospital, "in which humane employment the Commodore himself, and every one of his officers, were engaged, without distinction; and, notwithstanding the great debility and the dying aspects of the greatest part of our sick, it is almost incredible how soon they began to feel the salutary influence of the land; for though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceding day, yet we did not lose above ten men more, during our whole two months' stay here; and in general our diseased received so much benefit from the fruits of the island, particularly the fruits of the acid kind, that, in a week's time, there were but few who were not so far recovered as to be able to move about without help." That this public and strong testimony to the infallible cure of scurvy, by the use of vegetable acids, should have lain dormant for thirty years, till revived by Cook, is indeed a lamentable proof, among many others, of the tardy adoption of useful discoveries.

Towards the middle of September, the convalescents were sent on board the ship; but the Commodore, who was himself ill of the scurvy, had a tent erected for him on shore, where he meant to stay

a few days for the recovery of his health. On the 23rd September, a furious storm drove the *Centurion* from her anchors, and forced her out to sea, while Mr. Anson, many of the officers, and a great part of the crew, amounting in the whole to one hundred and thirteen persons, were left behind on the island. This catastrophe appeared to forbode equal destruction to those left on shore, without the means of escaping, and to those on board the *Centurion*, utterly unprepared as they were to struggle against the fury of the seas and winds.

The gloomy reflections which must have occupied the thoughts of all left on this island, unfrequented as it was by European shipping will readily be imagined. The melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of their days there, or still worse, the possibility of the governor of Guam overpowering them, and removing them to that island, as prisoners for life, could not be concealed : and the worst of all was, that the want of commissions, or any document to show who they were (all the papers being in the *Centurion*), would afford the Spaniards a sufficient pretext for treating them as they did that gallant old seaman, John Oxenham (the contemporary and rival of Sir Francis Drake) and his comrades, whom they hanged as pirates. Anson, with all his coolness and fortitude, no doubt had his share of uneasiness, on account of the precarious situation in which they were placed, but, it is stated, he always kept up his

usual composure and steadiness. He had, in fact, from the moment the ship was driven to sea, conceived a project by which, let the worst happen, they would be liberated. His plan was to lengthen the Spanish bark he had detained, about twelve feet, which would give her tonnage and capacity enough to carry them all to China. He told the people that, in the execution of this, he should share the fatigue and labour with them, and that he should expect no more from any man, than what he himself was ready to submit to; but that no time was to be lost. They accordingly set about the task, and, in the progress of the work the ingenuity of the carpenters, smiths, sailmasters, &c., was put in requisition to supply those necessary articles that were carried out to sea in the *Centurion*.

While thus employed, an incident occurred that, for the first time, shook the firm nerves and overwhelmed the steady mind of Anson with poignant grief. One day some of the people suddenly called out, "*A sail!*" Every one immediately, elated with joy, concluded it to be the *Centurion*, just emerging above the horizon; a second sail was announced; this destroyed their first conjecture. Anson, eagerly turning his glass towards the spot, saw at once they were only two sailing-boats: the thought immediately occurred to him that the *Centurion* was gone to the bottom, and that these were her two boats, bringing back the surviving part of her crew; and this sudden thought acted so powerfully on his

feelings, that, in order to conceal his emotion, it is stated, he instantly, and without speaking a word to any one, retired to his tent, where he passed some bitter moments in an agony of grief; firmly believing that the ship was lost, that most of the people had perished, and that every hope had vanished, which, until now, he had continued to cherish—that he should yet do something which might contribute to his own honour and his country's service. He found himself, in some respects, like his predecessor Drake, of whom it is said, after his failure in Panama, that "He saw that all the good which he had done, in this voyage, consisted in the evil he had done the Spaniards, afar off, whereof he could present but small visible fruits in England."

They were soon however discovered to be two of the country boats pursuing their course to one of the islands; and the work was resumed and went on without further interruption. A difficulty, however, presented itself, when the vessel was nearly completed, that had not occurred to any of them before. Little at this time was known of the geography or hydrography of this part of the Pacific, and the disheartening discovery was made, that they neither had quadrant nor compass on shore. Lieutenant Brett had borrowed the Commodore's pocket-compass, and it had gone with him in the Centurion. However, in rummaging a chest belonging to the Spanish vessel, a miserable small compass was found, and, a few days after, a quadrant turned up among some lumber

that had been thrown overboard belonging to the dead; but, having no vanes, it was useless. Here again fortune was favourable; in the drawer of an old table were discovered some vanes that could be adapted to it. Thus, then, they were furnished with the means of ascertaining their latitude and regulating their course, which put an end to anxiety on that score.

Nineteen days had now elapsed since the departure of the ship, when, on the 11th October, one of the men from a hill discovered and recognised the Centurion at a distance, on which he hallooed out with great ecstasy to his comrades, *The ship, the ship!* which being rapidly passed to the Commodore, who was busily employed, he, "on hearing this happy and unexpected news, threw down his axe with which he was then at work, and, by his joy, broke through, for the first time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved. The others who were with him instantly ran down to the sea-side, in a kind of frenzy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently wished for, and of which they had now for a considerable time despaired."

The ship being now refitted, and water and provisions, with fruits and refreshments of all kinds, which abounded on the island of Tinian, taken on board, they put to sea on the 21st October, and steered the proper course for Macao, where they arrived on the 12th November, after a voyage of above

two years, more productive of disastrous events, and of human misery with loss of life—of disappointed hopes, endured with patience, firmness and perseverance—than any naval expedition ever encountered, either before or since this memorable one of Commodore Anson.

It would be out of place here to notice (what was not *then* so generally known as *now*) the account given of the proneness to falsehood, the duplicity and knavery, of the Chinese, which not only pervade every department of the government, but also, naturally enough, infect the people generally. These are the ruling vices of this extraordinary people, the offspring of excessive timidity, progressively descending from the Great Emperor himself downwards to the very lowest official, who wears a badge of the government. Yet this great empire, equal in extent to all Europe, and far exceeding all Europe in its myriads of population, has, with all its vices and defects, survived all ancient dynasties, has certainly continued some 4000 years unchanged, (probably many more,) and is likely, if not disturbed and convulsed by foreign interference, to remain in its unchanged state for as many years to come. By the novelty of a British ship-of-war, by the firmness of her captain, by a judicious display of her power, mixed occasionally with a few threats of the probable necessity of having recourse to the use of it, and moreover by an early insight into the real character of the people, Anson succeeded in procuring the

means for the refitment of his ship, for replenishing his stores and provisions, and, in short, for obtaining everything that he required. He also succeeded in getting a small reinforcement of his crew, having entered twenty-three men, a few of them Dutch, and the rest Lascars.

On the 19th April the *Centurion* left Macao roads, ostensibly for Batavia, on her way to England, but in reality to endeavour to intercept the *Acapulco* ship, expected to arrive about this time at Manilla. There never perhaps was a stronger instance of firmness of purpose, on the part of the commander, coupled with a conviction of the reliance to be placed on the bravery and fidelity of British seamen, than that displayed in the resolution here taken by Anson, who thus gives, in his report to the Admiralty, the actual state of his crew. "The number of men I have now borne is two hundred and one, amongst which are included all the officers and boys which I had out of the *Gloucester*, *Tryal Prize*, and *Anna pink*, so that I have not before the mast more than *forty-five* able seamen." But these forty-five were a host against five or six hundred Spaniards, known to be about the usual number of the crew of one of their galleons,—and they proved themselves worthy to be thought so;—for, not to deceive his men, Anson, on gaining the sea, considered it right to assemble and address the crew, and to tell them plainly that he meant to cruise off Manilla for the *two* galleons, which he knew would speedily arrive there.

He told them he should choose a station where he could not fail of meeting with them; and, though they were stout ships and fully manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them, at least, could not fail of becoming his prize. This plain address of the Commadore was received with extreme delight, and, according to the custom of British seamen, was expressed by three strenuous cheers, with a declaration from all, that they were resolved to succeed or perish, whenever the opportunity presented itself. After all the miseries sustained by these brave men—after they had seen so many hundreds of their companions perish—can moral fortitude surpass this?

On the last day of May the Centurion arrived on the cruising-ground, and the people were daily looking out, with anxious expectation, for the approaching crisis, till the 20th June, when they were relieved from this state of suspense, by the appearance of a large ship standing towards them. It was the galeon with Spanish colours flying, and the standard of Spain hoisted at the main-top gallant mast-head. Anson in his official report says, “On the 20th June I got sight of her and gave chase, she bearing down upon me before the wind; when she came within two miles she brought to, to fight me. After engaging her an hour and a half within less than pistol-shot, the admiral struck his flag at the main-top-mast head; she was called the *Nuestra Senhora*

del Caba Donga, Don Geronimo Montero, admiral ; had forty-two guns, seventeen of which were brass, and twenty-eight pateraroes ; five hundred and fifty men, fifty-eight of whom were slain, and eighty-three wounded. Her masts and rigging were shot to pieces, and one hundred and fifty shot passed through her hull, many of which were between wind and water, which occasioned her to be very leaky. The greatest damage I received was by my foremast, mainmast, and bowsprit being wounded, and my rigging shot to pieces, having received only fifteen shot through my hull, which killed sixteen men and wounded fifteen. I was under great difficulty in navigating two such large ships, in a dangerous and unknown sea, and to guard four hundred and ninety-two prisoners."

Thus fell to the Centurion this rich prize, amounting in value to nearly a million and half of dollars. The transport of joy is not to be described on having at last, after so many disasters and disappointments, accomplished one great object of their wishes—but that joy had nearly been damped by an incident of a most fearful character. Scarcely had the galeon struck, when one of the lieutenants came hastily to Anson, and, whispering in his ear, told him that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. This appalling intelligence was received by Anson (just as a similar incident was, afterwards, by Lord Howe in the Princess Amelia,) without any apparent emotion, and he gave his directions with the

greatest composure, desiring that care should be taken *not* to alarm the people, or throw them into a state of confusion; and by this judicious conduct and the proper orders forthwith given, the means taken for extinguishing the flames happily succeeded. It appeared some cartridges had blown up, and set fire to a quantity of oakum, the smoke and smother of which gave the apprehension of a more extended and mischievous fire than it really was.

The circumstance of the prisoners being considerably more than double the number of his own people, gave Anson some uneasiness as to the disposal of them; the only secure means appeared to be that of putting them down into the hold, which was carried immediately into effect, with regard to all except the officers and the wounded, every precaution being taken, at the same time, that the hatchways should be left open to admit as much fresh air as possible. To each man was allowed a pint of water a-day, which was all that could be spared for the voyage to Canton. The narrative says these poor fellows "were strangely metamorphosed by the heat of the hold; for, when they were first taken, they were sightly robust fellows; but when, after above a month's imprisonment, they were discharged in the river of Canton, they were reduced to mere skeletons; and their air and looks corresponded much more to the conception formed of ghosts and spectres, than to the figure and appearance of real men."

The second visit of the Commodore with his prize

puzzled the Chinese not a little. . They did not understand on what principle a ship-of-war went round the world, seeking ships of other nations in order to seize them. Unacquainted as they were with international law, their own laws and sense of justice admitted of no such license. Anson's own account of his proceedings is as follows:—"Finding I could not obtain the provisions and stores to enable me to proceed to Europe, I was under the necessity of visiting the vice-king, notwithstanding the Europeans were of opinion that the emperor's duties would be insisted upon, and that my refusing to pay them would embarrass the trade of the East India Company; not knowing what means they might make use of, when they had me in their power, I gave orders to Captain Brett, whom upon this occasion I had appointed captain under me, that, if he found me detained, he should destroy the galeon, (out of which I had removed all the treasure, amounting to one million three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and forty-three pieces of eight, and thirty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-two ounces of virgin silver and plate,) and proceed with the Centurion without the river's mouth, out of gunshot of the two forts.

"Contrary to the general opinion of the Europeans, the vice-king received me with great civility and politeness, having ten thousand soldiers drawn up, and his council of Mandarins attending the audience, and

granted me everything I desired. I had great reason to be satisfied with the success of my visit, having obtained the principal point I had in view, which was establishing a precedent upon record that the emperor's duties and measurage had not been demanded from me, by which means His Majesty's ships will be under no difficulties in entering into any of the Emperor of China's ports for the future."*

Anson here contents himself with giving merely the result of his visit; he says nothing of the many excuses, lies, and evasions he was subject to, and that, after all, it was the incident of a fire, which threatened to destroy a great part of the city, being stopped by the exertions of the Commodore and his boat's crew, who pulled down the contiguous houses, that procured him an interview for which he had hitherto striven in vain. He was received with great pomp and much civility, but his many grievances were listened to in silence; and when Anson told him he waited only for a license to ship his provisions and stores, to enable him to leave the river, and make the best of his way to England, the viceroy replied, that the license should be issued forthwith, and everything was ordered on board the following day.

When all was ready, and the merchants of Macao had concluded their bargain for the galeon, at the price of six thousand dollars, on the 15th December 1743, the Centurion got under weigh on her return

* Anson's Official Report.

to England, and, having wooded and watered in the Strait of Sunda, touched at the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 15th June, 1744, came safe to an anchor at Spithead. Fortunately for Anson he escaped the last of the many perils which had so frequently beset him, by favour of a fog, having run through a French fleet cruising in the chops of the Channel. "Thus," says the narrator, "was this expedition finished, when it had lasted three years and nine months, after having, by its event, strongly evinced this important truth—that, though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune, yet, in a long series of transactions, they usually rise superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful." This remark is certainly just, and no parallel is to be found, in the history of navigation, to the voyage of Anson, unless it be that of Sir Francis Drake, which comes nearest to it, and in some respects is perhaps still more extraordinary. He left England with five ships, his own the *Hind* of 100 tons, the second 80, the third 30, a fly-boat 50, and a pinnace of 15 tons. He lost, or broke up, or left behind him, all but his own; plundered the Spaniards on the western coast, proceeded nearly to 50° N. to look out for a north-east passage into the Atlantic, crossed the Pacific, proceeded round the Cape of Good Hope, and, after an absence of two years and ten months, reached England with only his own ship and about 50 men out of 160.

Though it is pleasing to reflect that many of the painful incidents recorded in this memorable voyage can never again occur, yet it may not be deemed irrelevant to offer a few observations on two of the main points which fall within its scope. The first is, on the extraordinary mortality of the seamen and the cause thereof; the second, on the defective state of navigation and nautical science recorded therein.

1. As this extraordinary mortality occurred in every one of Anson's ships, (even in the *Severn* and *Pearl* that were driven back to Rio de Janeiro,) it is obvious that the cause of the disease was general, and that it was less owing to any defect in the ships, their condition, or the regulations observed in each, than to the unfortunate and, it must be added, the inhuman circumstance of putting on board such a number of invalids, pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, every one of whom perished in the course of the voyage. Diseased, old, and infirm, at the very commencement of the voyage, these poor creatures were obliged to remain below, with the ports shut in, with little or no fresh air, and what there was infected and polluted by their own breath—their food salt provisions, their beverage spirituous liquors, a scanty supply of water, and less of vegetable matter—no wonder that fever and dysentery should have made a dreadful havoc among them even before their arrival at St. Catharine's. Here however every precaution was taken to abate the sickness—decks scraped, ships thoroughly cleaned,

smoked between decks, and every part well washed with vinegar—"for correcting," as the narrative says, "the noisome stench on board, and destroying the vermin; for, from the number of our men, and the heat of the climate, both these nuisances had increased upon us to a very loathsome degree."

Thus early was laid the foundation of that more horrible disease, the scurvy, which first made its appearance in April, when off Cape Horn, where the highly heated atmosphere was suddenly changed to severe cold, by the foggy, snowy, and tempestuous weather which they met with off that cape, and which increased the sickness to a frightful degree. Leaving the mild and pleasant weather met with in the Strait Le Maire, the general opinion was that the remainder of the voyage, within the Tropics and across the Pacific, would be free from any further attack of scurvy. The surgeon who, Mr. Pascoe Thomas says, was vain and pragmatistical, pronounced the scurvy to be owing to the coldness of the climate, having destroyed the tone of the blood and made it unfit for circulation. Unfortunately however for his theory, it was afterwards found that, in the warm climate, the symptoms were more alarming, and the progress of the disease more rapid and fatal; on which the doctor came to the more rational conclusion, that the grand cause was long continuance at sea, and that the shore only could effect a cure. It is well known that the very sight of land affords

a momentary relief to the sufferer in scurvy. One of Captain Back's men, reduced to the last extremity, fancied that if a piece of earth could be procured, the odour of it would be of benefit: with some difficulty a clod of frozen moss was obtained from Southampton island, and the poor fellow died in the belief that it did him good. It is on record that when the *Raisable*, Captain Fitzherbert, was removed from Halifax to Barbadoes in 1779, the crew being dreadfully afflicted with scurvy, of which numbers died, one of the men, who had suffered from it severely a long time, requested he might be buried up to the neck in fresh earth; his wish was complied with, and he not only felt instantaneous relief, but, to the surprise of all, very quickly recovered.

But to return to Mr. Robins, who seems to think that this disease has no cure. He says, that "although uncommon pains were taken in cleansing and sweetening the ships, yet neither the progress nor the virulence of the disease were thereby sensibly abated," and he therefore comes to the conclusion, "that in some cases both the cure and prevention of this disease is impossible to be effected by any management, or by the application of any remedies which can be made use of at sea."

Fortunately however the fallacy of this general conclusion was proved, some thirty years afterwards, by the wise and judicious precautions of the cele-

brated Cook ; but several years more were suffered to elapse before this dreadful disease disappeared ; being at length not only prevented, but effectually cured, by the general introduction of citric acid, or lemon juice, into the navy, which has in all cases of its occurrence proved to be an universal specific.

This voyage established the fact, which future voyages have abundantly confirmed, that the scurvy regards not climate, and that it is equally common and fatal in the frigid as the torrid zones. Back's people, officers and men, shut up for many months in "thick-ribbed ice," with all the means and appliances to boot, suffered most dreadfully from this fearful scourge ; and Captain Legge of the *Severn*, who just looked at Cape Horn and was driven back to Rio de Janeiro, says, "I had not above thirty men, myself, lieutenants, officers, and servants included, that were able to assist in working the ship ; all of us so weak as hardly able to walk the deck."* He left England, he says, with 430 men ; he since buried 291 ; among whom were the captain, lieutenant, and ensign of invalids ; and of 144 living on his reaching Rio de Janeiro, 114 were sick and unable to stir.

2. With regard to the second point, Anson was considered fully competent to all the practical parts of nautical science, and to the use of all the instruments then in use, with which he had taken care

* Official Report.

to provide himself. The Honourable Edward Legge too, captain of the *Severn*, was an able and intelligent officer, of superior education; and yet the narrative affords many instances of singular mistakes in the position of the ships, which could hardly happen, at the present day, to the most ordinary masters of merchant ships. The *Centurion*, for instance, having passed the most western part of *Terra del Fuego*, and proceeded, as was supposed, as far as ten degrees to the westward of it, the *Pink* made a signal of seeing land a-head, at two miles' distance, to the imminent peril of losing the whole squadron on *Cape Noir*; "so that," it is said, "in running down by our account about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced above half that distance."

Again, the *Centurion* in standing for the island of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to save time, steered a course "to hit it upon a meridian," but not finding it, the next thing was "to make it on a parallel of latitude;" and to this end, the course steered was direct east, which brought her to the coast of *Chili*, and by this unfortunate mistake eleven days were lost in getting back to the island, and, what was more deplorable, "between seventy and eighty men" perished. Captain Legge also, after doubling *Cape Horn*, steered as he thought for the island of *Chiloe*; but, to his astonishment, found himself on the wrong side of *South America*, having the high land of *Pa-*

tagonia to the westward of him, and being *twelve degrees* out of his longitude.

For the errors in the reckonings of the Centurion and the Severn, some allowance is due to the long continuance of boisterous weather, the irregularity of the currents, and the foggy and clouded atmosphere in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn. The reflecting quadrant of Hadley had been in use ten years, but the limb had not been extended to the sextant; chronometers were not known. The lunar tables of Meyer and the theory of the moon by Newton, Halley, and Flamstead, were familiar to astronomers, but had not been practically applied to the purposes of navigation. To the Rev. Doctor Maskelyne, the astronomer royal, a most excellent and economical public servant, the seaman is indebted for the "Requisite Tables" and various rules and examples for deducing the longitude from the distance of the sun and moon, or of the moon and a fixed star, commonly known under the name of Lunar Observations. Many years however elapsed before the method, thus made easy, became generally practised. The captains of ships trading to the East Indies were among the first to adopt it. The officers of the navy were slow to follow the example.*

* The Lion of 64 guns, which carried Lord Macartney's embassy to the Court of Peking in 1792, may be quoted as an instance of this.

Now, however, with the assistance of chronometers and of lunar observations, the navigator of the present day can never mistake his position : there is no excuse left for ignorance. Every midshipman in the navy must indeed now make himself acquainted with both, before he is qualified to receive a lieutenant's commission ; but as it is generally many years, after his examination, that he is fortunate enough to obtain a commission, and as young men are but too frequently apt to throw behind them the knowledge they acquired for a particular purpose, it would be well if they were required to show, at the time when the commission was to be received, that they had not forgotten what they once learned ; and it would be no disparagement to the lieutenant, were he required to give proof of his competency to conduct the navigation of a ship, before he is advanced to the rank of commander, and not, as Lord Howe judiciously remarked on the case of Captain Williamson, to leave the navigation of the ship "to the errors in his

Sir Erasmus Gower was an officer of high and deserved reputation in the service. He had the choice of his four lieutenants, and two if not three midshipmen were made acting-lieutenants in the course of the voyage ; he had a master of distinguished skill in navigation, and twenty midshipmen. It was a time of profound peace, and yet there was not an officer in this ship, save one, Mr. David Atkins, the third lieutenant (who nobly sacrificed himself in the North Sea, to save his admiral, when the *St. George* and *Defence* were lost), capable of taking and working a lunar distance. There are four admirals now living (then midshipmen), Ommanney, Warren, Lord Mark Ker, and Sir Robert Bromley, who can attest this statement.

Master's reckoning,"—"a minute," says his Lordship, "of admonitory benefit for young captains, who often think that point of their examinations, when passing for a lieutenancy, is no longer to be regarded after obtaining independent commands."

But something more is required from a naval officer in command, whether of a fleet, a squadron, or single ship, than the recollection of the scanty knowledge put in requisition at his passing for a lieutenant. It is not enough that he should make himself acquainted thoroughly with the theory and practice of navigation: the various situations into which he must be thrown, in his intercourse with foreign nations, render it highly expedient he should possess a knowledge of their maritime laws, customs, and language. The French language in particular, being so generally spoken, ought to form a part of the studies of every midshipman, and also of an examination, when he passes for a lieutenant's commission. The laws and usages, the best system of discipline, and the code of instructions in the British navy, should be familiar to him as household words. An admirable system of gunnery, of the laws of projectiles, of mechanic powers, and a course of mathematics, are now taught on board the Excellent in Portsmouth harbour; and the limited few, who are fortunate enough to be admitted to the benefit of such instruction, ought not to receive any promotion unless they afford satisfactory proof that it has

not been thrown away upon them. If such a ship as the *Excellent*, with her establishment, was afloat, and made a sea-going ship, it might probably be considered as an improvement of the plan, more particularly in all that relates to gunnery, which, both as to theory and practice, is every day rising more and more in importance, and in the knowledge of which we ought at least to keep pace with other nations.

Having touched, in another place, on the propriety of refreshing the knowledge acquired as a midshipman, at a future period, it has been objected by some, (probably not of the wisest) that an examination into the qualification of a lieutenant, or commander, would be derogatory to officers of those ranks in the service. It was not thought so however in the earlier periods of our naval history. In a series of ancient records in the Admiralty, called "The King's Collection," it appears that in 1674, when Prince Rupert was lord high admiral, a resolution was taken that all captains should, before appointed to the command of sixth-rates, be examined by the Trinity House touching their qualifications as masters, and bring from them certificates of their being able to take the charge of them as masters, and this notwithstanding they had the command of ships of bigger rate before, &c.

In 1692, when the Earl of Pembroke was at the head of the Admiralty, the rule was renewed, that

all commanders of sixth-rates should first pass their examination as masters; and in 1697 when the Earl of Orford was first Lord of the Admiralty, masters were abolished from fire-ships and sixth-rates, and lieutenants allowed in their room, and the captains' commissions were *masters and commanders*; and by minute of 4th February, 1697, it was resolved, "That, for the future, all commanders of fire-ships and sixth-rates have their commissions as *masters and commanders*, and have no masters." These commissions, after maintaining their ground near a hundred years, were changed to *commanders* only.

The shipwreck of the *Wager*, the last of Anson's missing ships, and commanded by Captain Cheap, is an episode in the voyage, which differs from the calamities of the other ships, by uniting crime with misfortune. This ship, in steering a course for Valdivia, the first place marked out for attack, struck on a sunken rock, and soon after bilged; her commander, in his exertions to get clear of it, fell down the after ladder, and dislocated his shoulder: she drifted near the shore, and the crew were saved. Several, however, persisted in remaining on board, got to the spirit-room, and made themselves so drunk, that some of them tumbled down between decks and were drowned. The boats were sent to bring them off, but no efforts could prevail on these deluded people to quit. They wantonly fired two shot from

a four-pounder, pointed at the tent in which they knew their commander resided. At last, as the ship was going to pieces, the refractory part of the crew landed; but the ship being lost, the authority of the officers was at an end, the people were mutinous, frauds and thefts were committed, feuds and contests prevailed.

In this state of insubordination, the captain proposed to fit up the boats and to leave this desolate shore, proceeding to the northward to Chiloe; but the majority were resolved to take the contrary direction, to lengthen the long-boat, to pass through the Strait of Magellan, and along the coast of America to the Brazils. The captain adhered to his own plan, but acquiesced in lengthening the long-boat. A great part of the crew were very much embittered against him, and their hostile feeling was aggravated by an unhappy accident. A midshipman of the name of Couzens, the foremost in all the refractory proceedings of the crew, was constantly in brawls with the officers, and had treated the captain himself with great insolence. Among others he insulted the purser while delivering out provisions near the captain's tent; the purser, enraged at his scurrility, called out "*Mutiny!*" adding, "*The dog has pistols;*" and then he fired a pistol at Couzens. The captain on this rushed out of his tent; and, not doubting that Couzens had fired the pistol, as the commencement of a mutiny, shot him instantly in

the head, and he died of the wound a few days afterwards.

The long-boat was completed about the middle of October, when the crew, suspecting it to be the intention of the commander to defeat their favourite project of passing the Strait, made use of the death of Couzens as a ground for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a prisoner to England, to be tried for murder. When all was ready, however, to put to sea, they released him from custody, gave him, and those who chose to take their fortunes with him, the yawl and the barge. The *Wager* left England with a crew of one hundred and sixty men, besides her share of invalids, of whom there remained alive near one hundred and thirty at the time of the wreck; above thirty had since died at this place; and the number that went off in the long-boat and cutter amounted to near eighty; so that there remained with the captain nineteen persons, which were as many as the yawl and the barge could well carry.

It was on the 13th October, five months after the shipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a schooner, weighed and stood to the southward, giving to the captain, the lieutenant of marines, and surgeon, who were standing on the beach, three cheers at their departure. On the 29th January following they reached Rio Grande on the coast of Brazil; and having, by various accidents, left about twenty of

their people on shore at the different places where they touched, and having lost a greater number by hunger during the course of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them left, when they arrived at the port above mentioned. It was two months subsequent to the departure of the mutineers before the captain and his party could put to sea in the barge and yawl, on account of the extreme violence of the weather, during which time they received a great part of their support from a straggling canoe or two of Indians, which now and then brought them a supply of fish.

On the 14th December, Captain Cheap and his people embarked in the two boats, and proceeded to the northward ; but the wind soon began to blow hard, and the sea to run so high, as to oblige them to throw the greatest part of their provisions overboard to avoid immediate destruction. A fortnight after this another dreadful accident befel them, the yawl having sunk at an anchor, and one of the men being drowned. The barge was incapable of carrying the whole party, when, melancholy to relate, they were reduced to the hard necessity of leaving four marines behind them on that desolate shore. They struggled on with various disasters, obliged to seek a precarious subsistence on the shore, till about the end of January, when, after three unsuccessful attempts to double a headland called *Cape Tres Montes*, they resolved to return to Wager Island,

where they arrived about the middle of February, quite disheartened and dejected by reiterated disappointments, and almost perishing with hunger and fatigue.

Here they met with a seasonable relief, by finding several pieces of salt beef that had been washed out of the ship; and very shortly two canoes of Indians came to the spot, among whom was a native of Chiloe, who agreed to convey the captain and his people in the barge to that island, in consideration of having her and all that belonged to her for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th March, the eleven persons, to which the party was now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition; but a few days after this, the captain and four of his officers being on shore, the six men who, together with an Indian, remained in the barge, carried her off to sea, and never returned. Thus were left on shore Captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton, lieutenant of marines, the Hon. Mr. Byron and Mr. Campbell, midshipmen, and Mr. Elliot, the surgeon. "One would have thought," says the narrative, "that their distresses had, long before this time, been incapable of augmentation; but they found, on reflection, that their present situation was much more dismaying than anything they had yet gone through, being left on a desolate coast without any provision or the means of procuring any; for their arms, ammunition, and every convenience they were masters of, except the tattered

habits they had on, were all carried away in the barge."

In the midst of their despondency the canoe of the Indian, who had been fishing, and who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, returned ; but this man, on finding the barge gone and his companion with her, took it into his head that his countryman had been murdered ; and it required some time before he could be convinced of the truth of their story. Being once satisfied, he procured several canoes from his neighbours, and they again set out for Chiloe. Soon after their departure, Mr. Elliot, the surgeon, died, so that their number was now reduced to four. These, after a complicated passage by land and water, arrived in the beginning of June on the island of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity. "Thus," says the narrative, "above a twelvemonth after the loss of the *Wager*, ended this fatiguing peregrination, which, by a variety of misfortunes, had diminished the company from twenty to no more than four, and those too brought so low that, had their distresses continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have survived." They were first sent to Valparaiso, thence to St. Jago, where they continued above a year, when they were exchanged and sent to Europe in a French ship.

Captain Cheap, on his arrival at Landernau in France, writes to Anson; the 12th December, 1745,

in very indignant terms, at the conduct of his men, whom he upbraids as poltroons.* He says, "Some time before we left Chili, the Jesuits offered us what money we wanted, and said it was by order of their general at Rome. I do not know from what quarter the credit came: however, we took no more than we wanted to pay off a debt we had contracted with one of the supercargoes of the ship, which was nine hundred pieces of eight."†

Thus, then, in this disastrous expedition, the destruction of human life in the *Wager* greatly exceeded that in any other ship of the squadron; one hundred and twenty-six men having fallen victims in a crew of a hundred and sixty, without taking into account the number of invalids that were put on board in addition to her complement; all of whom perished in every ship which composed Anson's

* It was in consequence of the mutinous and bad conduct of the shipwrecked seamen of the *Wager*, that Anson, in 1748, when he had the management of the Admiralty, in the absence of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich, got an act passed (21 Geo. II.) for "extending the discipline of the navy to the crews of his Majesty's ships, wrecked, lost, or taken, and continuing to them their wages upon certain conditions."

† Byron relates, that two or three days after their arrival at St. Jago, Campbell and he were invited by the president to dine with him, and to meet Admiral Pizarro and all his officers, and, though without proper clothing, they could not refuse. The next day the first lieutenant of the admiral's ship came and offered them two thousand dollars, with a compassionate feeling, and without any view of ever being repaid: they accepted from this noble and generous Spaniard six hundred, and insisted on his taking their draft on the English consul at Lisbon.

squadron. Amidst so few survivors, it is remarkable enough that one of the seamen, by name George Gregory, lived to the age of 109 years, having died at Kingston the 13th February, 1804, without having known a day's illness since he went to sea in 1714.

CHAPTER III.

WAR WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN; AND THE SCOTCH REBELLION.

Receipt of intelligence from Anson—His arrival—His first request refused—Mr. Corbett's advice to him—Declines his promotion to the flag—Change of Administration—Appointed to the Admiralty—Character of the Duke of Bedford, Lord Sandwich, and Mr. Anson—Preparations for commencing hostilities—French fleet in the Channel—Sir John Norris sent to oppose it—A storm and its effects—Action of Lion and Elizabeth—The young Pretender embarks for Scotland—Intelligence of the Rebels from Mr. T. Anson—Anson left alone in the Admiralty—Bedford and Sandwich both ill—Singular complaint of the latter—Dangerous interference of the Crown with the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, by commanding a court martial—Result of that court martial—A writ of *capias* issued against the members—Their resolutions against Judge Willes—He demands and obtains an apology—His character—Activity of cruisers—Capture of Louisburg—The case of Admiral Vernon—is ordered to strike his flag—is summoned to attend the Admiralty—is struck off the list—Proceedings on this transaction—Satirical letter of Mr. Legge—Several brilliant actions between single ships.

1744 to 1746.

THE anxiety felt by the family of Anson, during the long time in which no tidings of him had reached England, was relieved by the arrival of Captain Saunders and some of the other officers whose ships had been destroyed, and who had taken their passage in a Swedish vessel from Canton. Mr. Thomas Anson,

his brother, acknowledges the receipt of his letters, with the view of their meeting him on his passage home. "They give us," he says, "infinite delight, though they abound with very just complaints of disasters and disappointments. The public had given you immense wealth, and seems concerned to find the recompense falls so short of the dangers, toils, and merits of the service.* But if you can content yourself with the nobler reward of reputation and fame, rest assured, my dear commodore, of as large a share as you can wish or imagine to yourself. The captains of your squadron have been sought for, and pointed out in public places as a spectacle; most graciously received at the Admiralty, and promised what ships they would ask for; Lord Winchelsea, who is at the head of it (your friend Corbett secretary), declaring that they would confirm whatever Anson did. This I mention that, in case you have a mind to make any new officers, or advance any that are made, the least pretence may probably suffice."

Whether Mr. Thomas Anson mistook Captain Saunders, or this officer, as naval officers sometimes do, considered as promises what were only meant as expressions of approbation, it is certain that Commodore Anson, on his arrival, did not find matters at the Admiralty wearing so smiling an aspect as his brother had described. In reply to his letter of the

* Anson had not captured the Spanish galleon when his letters were written from Canton.

14th June, from St. Helens, announcing his arrival, and transmitting an account of the transactions at Canton, including that of the capture of the Acapulco ship, the secretary coolly acknowledges the receipt, adding that he had communicated it to their lordships, “and I take” (the secretary takes!) “the opportunity of wishing you joy on your arrival in England.” And this was all,—chilling enough it must be admitted,—in reply to a man who, for four years nearly, had suffered more hardships than had fallen to the lot of almost any human being; but Anson was not a man of much punctilio, and wrote, in a quiet manner, another letter “to their Lordships,” stating the circumstances under which he had made his first lieutenant, Brett, acting captain of the *Centurion*, in his absence to wait upon, and arrange important matters with, the viceroy of Canton, and requested his commission might be confirmed. He was told he had no power to make such an appointment, and of course that it could not be confirmed.

Just at this time (the 19th June) a promotion of three rear-admirals was made, of whom Anson was one; and he was informed by letter, which enclosed his commission, that the king had been pleased to raise him to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue. As no further notice had been taken in favour of his lieutenant and friend, Brett, he at once returned the commission of rear-admiral of the blue, expressing his concern to find himself under the necessity of

declining that mark of regard, which his Majesty had been pleased to bestow upon him, and which he found he could not accept with honour.

This high feeling will perhaps be considered to have led him rather too hastily to adopt, and to act upon, such a resolution; but it brings to one's recollection a somewhat similar proceeding on the part of Sir George Rooke, when Prince George of Denmark, the Lord High Admiral, refused to promote *his* captain, Wishart; with this difference, however, in the two cases, that Rooke only threatened to retire from the service, unless he carried his point (which he did), whereas Anson sent back his commission at once, which the board did not condescend to restore to him, though, at the very same moment, they promoted Brett to be a captain, without taking the least notice of it to Anson. Nay, on the very day that Brett's commission was dated, Anson received the following letter from Mr. Corbett, the secretary of the Admiralty, full of good sense and of friendly counsel, no doubt; but it came too late.

"DEAR SIR,

"Though the giving advice is the most hazardous office of friendship, it is (in proper season) the sincerest proof of it. It is from that motive I address this letter to you—the first occasion you have ever given me for it in a course of more than twenty years' happiness of your acquaintance.

"The conduct you have shown in a late perilous expedition—the happy completion of it with so much judgment

and resolution—has distinguished your character in an uncommon manner, and make you regarded as one of the ablest to serve and support your country.

“Is it possible for one of such excellent endowments to justify so tenaciously an act, irregular, unnecessary, unprecedented, as to make the confirmation of it a condition of your continuance in the service, and of your acceptance of the late mark of his Majesty’s regard for you?”

“The reason you urge for insisting on the commission you gave, constituting a captain under you in the Centurion, is, ‘that it has ever been your opinion, a person entrusted with command may and ought to exceed his orders, and dispense with the common rule of proceedings, when extraordinary occasions require it.’

“Your opinion is very just. When a commander finds his orders or instructions insufficient, and he can do his country better service by violating or exceeding them, it indicates a great mind to judge and make a successful use of such occasions.

“But the application of this rule does not avail here. You are named to go with a squadron upon a distant expedition, without any captain under you in your own ship. You accept the command on those terms, and serve all the time accordingly. But after the whole expedition is at an end, and not one ship left with you but your own, nor any other service to be performed, but to return home, you appoint a captain under you.

“Do any of those extraordinary occasions appear here, wherein common rules of proceedings should be dispensed with? Does a journey of a few hours to an audience of the vice-king at Canton come up to it? The precaution you took, before setting out, to secure the king’s ship, and the treasure, *in case* any accident happened to your person, was a

prudent and necessary measure; but the trust was conditional, and to take place upon an inability to act yourself, which did not happen.

“ If what I have been saying, dear sir, has any tone of conviction, you will no longer insist on an act your good sense must condemn, when you consider that the Lords of the Admiralty have a true regard for you, are much concerned for the temper you are in with them, and would gratify you in anything that consisted with reason and the rules of their office. They have given you proofs of it. You took the galleon into the king’s service, and they have confirmed the officers you appointed to her; and yet there seemed as much reason to commission any common merchant ship; for she never was to serve as a man of war against the enemy, which is the only reason of putting prizes into commission. I am well assured that the captain you contend for would be provided for to his satisfaction, as well as others who have served with you in the voyage, and are under your protection.

“ In the present case the Lords of the Admiralty had no precedent—would you make one? It cannot be defended. The moment it is admitted, the Admiralty is no longer master of any rule or order, but every commodore who goes abroad without a captain may appoint one as soon as he is clear of the land of England, and insist upon it from the precedent.

“ An admiral of great rank in the Mediterranean wanted a second captain: his reasons were specious; he had a very large fleet under his command, and the assistance only of one flag-officer, who was infirm; himself was next in post to the only admiral who is allowed two captains. But as the establishment did not allow it, it was not granted, and not being granted, was not assumed.

"The late Lord Torrington, under whom we both served, and now revere his memory, in his expedition to Sicily, gave a commission to a person to be a lieutenant, contrary to rule. Lord Berkeley, being then at the head of the Admiralty, would not confirm it. In ten years after, Lord Torrington coming to the head of the Admiralty, and being solicited to continue the commission, refused it, saying, he would never ratify any act of his own, which he was convinced to be wrong. This is one of the many things I have admired in him: moderation and obedience to laws and rules of government are truer characteristics of a great man than defending singular opinions.

"I will trouble you no more, but to leave it to your consideration which is most praiseworthy—to give up a hasty resolution which (as far as I can hear) all your brother officers condemn, as all must who deal sincerely with you; or, in a sullen fit, to fly in his Majesty's face, give matters for pleasure to his enemies, and throw yourself out of a service you have been bred to, and in which you have so well succeeded.

"I am, with most sincere regard and esteem,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed)

"THOS. CORBETT.*

"*Admiralty Office, 25th June, 1774.*"

"GEORGE ANSON, Esq."

It would appear that the Board of Admiralty, however, took sufficient time to determine in what manner to act; for it was not till eight days after

* Anson's Collection of M.S. Letters, No. 152.

ANSON had returned his commission, that they came to the resolution to accept, or rather to cancel, it. This bold and novel proceeding of cancelling a commission, which the king had been pleased to order, is thus entered on the minute-book of the Admiralty: "Saturday, the 30th June, 1744.—The Right Honourable the Earl of Winchelsea, Mr. Cockburn, Dr. Lee, Sir Charles Hardy, Mr. Philipson. A letter from Admiral Anson, *dated the 22nd instant*, was read, enclosing his commission of rear-admiral of the blue, and representing his concern to find himself under the necessity of resigning the same, because a commission he had given to Captain Brett, to command the *Centurion* under him, was not confirmed. Resolved, that the said commission be cancelled."

Lord Winchelsea had the reputation of being a very upright and honest man; but he certainly did not act towards Anson with that generosity which, if not guided, as in all probability he was, by the advice of a set of incapables, he would in this case have shown to such a man, under such circumstances. He had only two naval officers at the Board, Sir Archibald Hamilton and Sir Charles Hardy (the elder), men of little or no experience, and of as little reputation in the service, but both respectable men, the latter of whom died in the Admiralty the same year, before the end of which he would have been turned out; and as to the *lay* lords, Mr. Cock-

burn, Dr. Lee, Lord Baltimore, and Mr. Phillipson, who ever knew anything about them? By such a set, however, was a gallant officer sacrificed, and actually placed on half-pay as a captain, who had performed a voyage of nearly four years' duration, whose unparalleled perseverance and sufferings, whose courage and constancy in meeting and overcoming difficulties, had gained him the applause and admiration not only of his countrymen, but of all Europe.

But a better feeling was evinced towards this ill-used officer by the secretary of state, to whom also, as having through him received his instructions from the king, he had reported his proceedings. The Duke of Newcastle, in acknowledging the receipt of them, says :

“ Whitehall, June 15, 1744.

“ CAPTAIN ANSON—SIR,

“ I received this morning, by Lieutenant Dennis, the favour of your letter of yesterday's date, with the agreeable news of your success in taking the great Acapulco ship, and of your safe arrival at Spithead, after the many fatigues and dangers that you have gone through in the course of your expedition.

“ I laid it immediately before the king ; and have the satisfaction to acquaint you that his Majesty was pleased to express his great approbation of your conduct ; and to give you leave to come immediately to town as you desire. As I hope very soon to have the pleasure of seeing you, I shall

only add the assurances of my being, with the greatest truth and regard, Sir, &c.

“ HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

“ P.S.—I am extremely obliged to you for your goodness to Mr. Keppel and Mr. Carpenter.

“ I will not fail to mention to his Majesty your recommendation of your lieutenant, Mr. Dennis, whom I will also recommend to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

“ Give me leave very particularly to assure you, that I take a great part in the good fortune and in the honour you have acquired for yourself, and the service you have done to your country.”*

There were others, also, who knew how to appreciate the merits of Anson. Winchelsea and his board were turned out in the month of December, 1744. The Duke of Bedford succeeded to the administration of naval affairs, and this distinguished circumnavigator was selected by his grace to become a member of his board; and, to make amends for the injustice done to him by a former Board, on the 20th April in the following year, Mr. Anson obtained two steps of rank at once, by being appointed Rear-admiral of the *White*. Lord Sandwich was selected by the duke as second to himself, being an intimate friend, and a clever intelligent man. The other two naval officers were the Rear-Admirals Lord Vere Beauclerc and Lord Archibald Hamilton. The former had seen very little service as a captain, and had been one of the members of Sir Charles Wager's

* Admiralty Records.

board; the latter, a member of the last board, had seen just as little, and was upwards of seventy years of age. The remaining two lay members were Legge and Grenville, both men of considerable ability, particularly the former, and both competent to undertake the civil department, and to transact the business, of the Admiralty in the House of Commons. Anson might therefore be considered a great acquisition, as he very soon proved himself to be, to the Duke of Bedford's administration. The characters of the three leaders have been drawn, but with no friendly hand, by their contemporary, Horace Walpole, whose inconsistency, dishonest partiality, and proneness to sarcasm, render his otherwise pleasant writings liable to be viewed with suspicion, and to be taken with great allowance.

“The Duke of Bedford was a man of inflexible honesty, and good-will to his country: his great economy was called avarice: if it was so, it was blended with more generosity and goodness than that passion will commonly unite with. His parts were certainly far from shining, and yet he spoke readily, and, upon trade, well: his foible was speaking on every subject, and imagining he understood it, as he must have done by inspiration. He was always governed; generally by the duchess, though unmeasurably obstinate when once he had formed or had an opinion instilled into him. His manner was impetuous, of which he was so little sensible that, being told Lord

Halifax was to succeed him, he said, 'He is too warm and overbearing ; the king will never endure him.' If the Duke of Bedford could have thought less well of himself, the world would probably have thought better of him."

"His friend, Lord Sandwich, was of a very different character ; in nothing more than in the flexibility of his honesty. The Duke of Bedford loved money to use it sensibly, and with kindness to others : Lord Sandwich was rapacious, but extravagant when it was to promote his own designs. His industry to carry any point he had in view was so remarkable, that for a long time the world mistook it for abilities ; but as his manner was most awkward and unpolished, so his talents were but slight, when it was necessary to exert them in any higher light than in art and intrigue. The king had never forgiven his indecent reflections upon the electorate,* when he was in opposition, and as soon as ever he found his ministers would permit him to show his resentment, he took all occasions to pay his court to them by treating Lord Sandwich ill, particularly by talking to Lord Anson before him on all matters relating to the

* His indecent reflections were these. On the debate in the House of Lords on the Hanover troops, he made a comparison between taking the Hanoverians into the pay of England, and the French taking the troops of the Duke John Frederic into their pay in 1672 ; and used these words—"That *little prince* would have duped Louis XIV. ; but he treated him like a *little prince*, and would not accept his troops but upon his own terms."

fleet.”* And yet, be it observed, Lord Sandwich alone negotiated and signed the treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle. The present Lord Holland, the editor of the “Memoirs,” observes, in a note, that he (Lord Sandwich) was first lord of the Admiralty in Lord North’s administration, † and says — “Our author disparages his abilities: he was a lively, sensible man, attentive to business, and not a bad speaker in Parliament.” His lordship might have added, his voyage round the Mediterranean proved him to be a scholar, a man of just observation, cultivated intellect, and vigorous mind.

“Lord Anson,” says Walpole, “was reserved and proud, and so ignorant of the world that Sir Charles Williams said, he had been round it, but never in it. He had been strictly united with the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich, but not having the same command of his ambition that he had of his other passions, he had not been able to refuse the offer of the chancellor’s (Hardwicke) daughter, nor the direction of the Admiralty.” He admits that “Lord Anson, attentive to, and generally expert in maritime details, selected with great care the best officers, and assured the king that, in the approaching war, he should at least hear of no courts-martial.”

Mr. Anson was “reserved,” it is true, but not “proud.” Every part of his conduct towards his

* Walpole’s *Memoirs of the last Years of George II.*

† He was First Lord of the Admiralty *three* different times.

equals and inferiors, and of theirs towards him, strongly contradict his being proud ; and the *bon mot*, as it was considered to be, of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, was a greater compliment to the admiral than probably was intended : his life had been passed in his profession, and not in what is usually called " the world." With regard to Lord Sandwich, Walpole had a feeling of rooted and bitter dislike. " Lord Sandwich," he says, " had been hoisted to the head of the Admiralty by the weight of the Duke of Bedford, into whose affection he had worked himself by intrigues, cricket-matches, and acting plays." ... " When the court was at Hanover, Lord Sandwich had drawn a great concourse of the young men of fashion to Huntingdon races, and then carried them to Woburn to cricket-matches made there for the entertainment of the duke."

It might have suggested itself to a candid man, that cricket-matches, and races, and plays, are not, in a moral point of view, more reprehensible, perhaps much less so, than the secret employment of writing libels and lampoons in a solitary closet, to be sealed up in a chest till the death of the author of them shall shield him from personal responsibility. It is well known that Lord Sandwich was a man of elegant manners, passionately fond of music, and that the parties, which were held twice a year at Hinchbrook, were chiefly entertained with musical recreations, scenes from operas, and oratorios, at

which the most approved *artistes* of the day were engaged to assist; but to which elegant amusements Walpole does not appear to have been invited; and this alone was quite enough for such a cynic, first to misrepresent, and then to condemn them.

When, in his posthumous memoirs, he sometimes condescends to bestow on Anson "faint praise," it is always accompanied with a sneer; to hate him it was enough that he was the friend of Sandwich; but there was another and a graver cause of his dislike and abuse of him, which never ceased until, nor even after, his death. This great intriguer is said to have laid a scheme for marrying Anson to one of the Duke of Bedford's daughters, in which he was disappointed by the noble lord choosing for himself, and taking to wife the chancellor's daughter, an union that brought down on both families the venom of his libellous pen—as keen and satirical as that of Voltaire, and in humble imitation of it; but Voltaire had the manliness to face the public in his satires, while living, which Walpole was afraid to do, and hoarded them up till after his death.*

* His letters addressed to George Montagu, nephew of the second Earl of Halifax, a young man about town with two or three sinecures, published only in the year 1818, are so scurrilous and indecent, respecting Anson, Lord and Lady Hardwicke, and many other public characters, that it may be said of him (barring the opprobrious epithets) what Dr. Johnson said of Bolingbrooke—"Sir, he was a scoundrel and a coward; a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality; a coward because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half a crown to a beggarly Scotchman to

The time was most important, and the situation of public affairs most serious, when the formation of the new Board of Admiralty was established. France was then busily employed in negotiating a new family compact with Spain, in which an alliance with that power, offensive and defensive, was stipulated to be perpetual; and one of the articles of the treaty was, that no peace should be concluded with England until Gibraltar should be restored to the crown of Spain. The treaty was signed at Fontainebleau; war was declared, and active preparations made by the two allied powers to equip such a navy as would infallibly, in their opinion, give them the uncontrolled command of the Mediterranean. Considerable fleets of French ships of war were, at the same time, preparing in the ports of Brest and Rochfort; and the grand object of these two allied powers seemed to be nothing less than to wrest from England her cherished tenure of the "sovereignty of the seas."

But they had also another object in view, and this was the re-establishment of the exiled family of the Stuarts on the throne of Great Britain. An active correspondence was carried on with the Scotch and English, the Jacobites being very numerous among the former, and more so than they were expected to be found in the latter. One part of the plan was to

draw the trigger after his death." Any one desirous of seeing Walpole's character laid bare and stripped to the very skin, will find it in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxvii.

throw a French army into England, from Dunkirk, to be escorted across the Channel by the united fleets of Brest and Rochfort, on the supposition that, from the number of our squadrons employed in the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and other foreign stations, we had no force at home equivalent to theirs, or capable of obstructing their passage. The Pretender was of an age which unfitted him to join in the enterprise; but he sent an instruction for his son Charles Edward to hasten from Rome to Paris, and proceed from thence, as his substitute, on this momentous expedition. Twenty thousand men were reported to have encamped at Dunkirk, commanded by Count Saxe: and the English people of that day looked towards Dunkirk with the same kind of anxious feeling as that with which, more than sixty years afterwards, they regarded the army encamped at Boulogne, and the boasted flotilla under Napoleon Buonaparte, both of which proved to be equally impotent, and, as such, they equally failed.

The French fleet, of about twenty sail-of-the-line, was under the command of M. de Roquefeuille, an old and experienced officer, and that of England, amounting nearly to the same number, was commanded by Sir John Norris, an able and active admiral, who had under him the Rear-Admirals Sir Charles Hardy and Martin. Sir John was ordered to repair to the Downs, for the purpose of drawing the French fleet into the narrow part of

the Channel, this being the best station to prevent them passing to the northward unobserved in thick weather, as they might be able to do lower down to the westward. In the early part of February the French fleet was seen off Plymouth, standing up Channel, and vast preparations were immediately made, along the coasts of Kent and Essex, to oppose any attempt to land in those counties. Indeed one burst of loyalty seemed to pervade the whole kingdom, and addresses poured in from all quarters, professing attachment to the throne and the Protestant succession.

M. de Roquefeuille, having first sent his cruisers to look into the English ports, and finding no ships of war either at St. Helen's or Spithead, stood boldly up Channel and came to anchor off Dungeness. On this being reported to Sir John Norris, he immediately got his fleet under way, and worked down Channel, against a westerly wind, till within two leagues of the French fleet; but, the tide setting strong against him, he was obliged to anchor. The French showed no disposition to engage; on the contrary, having made preparations, in order to take advantage of the turn of the tide in their favour, a signal was thrown out for every ship to make the best of her way to Brest; and to cut or slip their cables in order to lose no time in getting under sail. A gale of wind shortly sprung up from the north-west, increasing to a storm, by which the

enemy's ships were dispersed, many of them reaching Brest in a very shattered condition. Sir John Norris, finding it impossible to come up with any of the enemy's ships, which invariably outsailed ours, and considering it not only useless, but inexpedient, to expose his fleet to the storm, returned to the Downs.

The violence of the tempest reached Dunkirk, where many of the transports with troops already on board, and others with stores and ammunition, foundered at their anchors in the road, and a great number of lives were lost. So calamitous, indeed, were the disasters sustained, that the camp broke up, the young Pretender returned to Paris, and the dread of an invasion at once ceased. The French, too, now seemed to have abandoned the cause of the young adventurer, at least to have withdrawn the encouragement they had before given to the project; but Prince Charles was determined, at all events, to try his fortune; he wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his design, and appointing the place at which it was his intention to land. An Irishman of the name of Walsh, a merchant at Nantz, furnished for this object a small armed vessel, and raised for the Pretender's use about 2000*l.*, besides arms for a couple of thousand men. The old Scotch Marquis of Tullibardine, who called himself the Duke of Athol, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few others, embarked with the young Pretender; and this pigmy expedition set sail on the

4th July, 1745. They were joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns, the captain of which had orders to escort them to the Western Islands of Scotland; and this was the only naval assistance given to this bold and enterprising young man.

Anson, being now one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, had interest enough to get his old lieutenant, Piercy Brett (now a captain, though *he* had failed in making him so), appointed to the Lion, of fifty-eight guns and four hundred and forty men. Having the good fortune to fall in with this escort, Captain Brett ran his ship close alongside the Elizabeth, and commenced the attack within pistol-shot. The engagement, however, lasted five hours, by which time the Lion's rigging was cut to pieces, her mizen-mast shot away, and all her lower and top-masts wounded; and in this state she lay as a log on the water. The Elizabeth, having suffered less in her rigging, was able to set sail enough to carry her off, but her hull was so shattered, and she was altogether so much damaged as with difficulty to reach Brest. A smaller vessel, in which the young Pretender was, attempted at first to rake the Lion, but was soon beaten off by her stern-chasers; and towards the close of the action she made off with all the sail she could carry. This gallant encounter cost the Lion fifty-five men killed, and one hundred and seven wounded, seven of whom died shortly after the action.

Captain Brett and all his lieutenants were wounded, and the master had his right arm shot off. It was afterwards ascertained that the captain and sixty-four men of the *Elizabeth* were killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. The frigate pursued her voyage, and Prince Charles reached the coast of Lochaber, where he and his attendants were landed.

The young Pretender was strongly advised by his adherents in Scotland to relinquish his enterprise for the present ; but he was self-willed, and resolved at once to carry his plans into execution. Accordingly he hoisted his standard on the 12th August, to which many of the disaffected clans repaired. On this intelligence reaching London, the most vigorous measures were put in execution to stay the rebellion, and at all events to prevent its extending to England ; of which the government had great fear, more especially after the unexpected defeat of the British forces at Prestonpans. Admiral Vernon, who had gained such general and deserved reputation at Porto Bello, was appointed to command in the Downs, with a powerful squadron, to watch the motions of the French at Dunkirk and Calais, and to send detachments into the North Sea to intercept any supplies that might be sent for the use of the rebels in Scotland. The frigates and smaller vessels thus detached were very active, capturing and destroying transports that were conveying succours to the young Pretender's partisans in the north. It was here that

Howe was first brought into notice. He commanded the *Baltimore* sloop, and, in company with the *Greyhound* frigate, had a smart action with two French frigates, in which he received a wound in the head that at first was supposed to be fatal; but he was only stunned, or, as Captain Noel, who went on board the *Baltimore* to see him, says in his despatch, "he was a little disordered." Our two ships, whose masts were wounded, and their sails and rigging cut to pieces, were unable to follow the enemy, who, as usual, took advantage of their crippled state, and went off. With regard to the proceedings of these rebels after they had the temerity to enter England, Admiral Anson was duly apprised by his brother, Mr. Thomas Anson. Extracts of his last three letters will here suffice :

7th December.—"I fancy there has been a general panic about London, upon the rebels seeming to make a point that way; but it appears that they understand their business better, and yesterday morning, about eight o'clock, marched out of Derby and lay at Ashburn and the adjacent villages. A person I sent to reconnoitre brought an account, that about ten this morning he saw, at three-quarters of a mile's distance, the whole body pass along a valley at the other side of Weaver Hills, the road to Newcastle or Leek, for they might turn either way. All the most credible accounts agree that the number of the rebels does exceed seven thousand—three or four thousand good troops, the rest rabble and boys. The Pretender's son, who was generally in the rear, before the army was so near them, has since marched

at the head. He is something under six feet high, wears a plaid, walks well, a good person enough, but a melancholy aspect, speaks little, and was never seen to smile—so much for rebels and armies! My situation is still the same—between two fires—and the prospect, I fear, does not mend upon us.”

9th December.—“Your letter, which I have just received, would have been a seasonable consolation if I had not been all this day in good spirits upon finding that we are now fairly quit of the rebels, without any apprehensions of their return. They marched out of Leek yesterday morning for Congleton and Macclesfield, and are probably returning by the same route they came. The duke, I am told, has put himself *à leur trousses* with three thousand foot and five regiments of horse and dragoons, and will take up his quarters at Will Mills, at Leek to-night, as the Pretender did two nights ago.

“The rebels were greatly exasperated at their reception in Derby; their leader was observed to be much more gloomy than usual; their ladies wept; and their whole body marched out with visible dejection and despair. Their behaviour since has been much fiercer, and at Ashburn, and on their way to Leek they have plundered and ravaged, murdered two or three people, and wounded others, so that their name is in horror and detestation. Their cruelty will probably increase, if they have time to exert it, which I fancy the Duke will not give them; and perhaps some of Mr. Wade’s troops are within reach. What this gang of rapparees, by no means formidable in themselves, but from the panic they have spread, have already done, I need not observe: but it will surely be lasting matter of wonder and of reproach.”

14th December.—“I have just received a letter from

Jones, the postmaster of Stone, dated this day, 5 o'clock, in which he says they had, at that minute, an account that the rebels marched out of Preston yesterday, and that our horse marched in that afternoon, and it was thought would be up with them by noon to-day. He encloses a letter from Will Mills to me, which is as follows:—

“ ‘I hope we shall hear no more of the rebels in these parts. The duke and his army were at Wigan last night. The rebels are in the utmost distress, have neither shoes nor stockings, nor any hope of getting any, not able to march, and dwindling away every day. A detachment of light horse and some hussars are pursuing them at the head of the duke's army. On Thursday an aide-de-camp of Wade's came to the duke, at Macclesfield, to inform him that Wade had detached a large body of horse to intercept them towards Lancaster, and that Oglethorpe, with another body of horse and the royal hunters, were at their heels pursuing them. I hope they will soon give a good account of them, for they were greatly dispirited on their return to this place.’* ”

“ *Leek, Saturday Morning.* ”

This letter concludes Mr. Anson's correspondence on the subject. It is well known that the cavalry of the Duke of Cumberland got up with the enemy's rear-guard at the village of Clifton, near Penrith, and after a skirmish compelled them to retire. At Carlisle they left a garrison and most of their cannon, the main body entering Scotland in two columns. The duke, as soon as his battering-train could be

* Anson's Collection of MS. Letters, Nos. 21, 22, and 23.

brought up, bombarded the city, and soon silenced the fire of the rebels, who, on the 30th December, were glad to surrender at discretion.

Just at this important period, Admiral Anson was left almost alone in the charge of the Admiralty. The Duke of Bedford was laid up with the gout, and Lord Sandwich was taken dangerously ill in Birmingham, where he was visited by Lord Halifax, who writes to Mr. Anson, "that his fever had left him, but with great weakness and lowness of spirits; strength and spirits, he doubted not, would return soon, but he had been dangerously ill, almost beyond hope." "I am extremely concerned," says Mr. Anson to his brother, "both in public and private respects, that the Board is so indisposed at such a juncture. Heaven restore and preserve it!"

The effect of this illness on the mind and spirits of Lord Sandwich, as described in a letter from Lord Halifax to Admiral Anson, is so extraordinary, in a man of such powerful intellect and bodily strength, as to deserve recording. It is dated Birmingham, 13th December, 1745:—

"I came here in great haste (before my last march to Stafford), having been informed my good friend Lord Sandwich lay dangerously ill of a fever here; and indeed I found him very much out of order. He was once blooded, and they hoped the complaint was removed, but I was sensible it lay heavy on his spirits. When I returned here two days afterwards, the fever was entirely removed; but still his

spirits were as low as ever, nor has it been in my power, by any means, to recover them, though I think I have used all ; and if anybody could have given him ease, he told me it would have been myself. The concern I undergo upon this occasion is beyond what I can express, and the long and uninterrupted course of our friendship makes it impossible for one man to feel more for another than I do for him. The terrible lowness of his spirits makes him take such strange notions into his head as are not to be accounted for, and by force of reason impossible to be removed. He fancies that the expense attending his new commission, though not amounting to 200*l.*, has utterly ruined him, and that he is undone in his circumstances, though, even by his own account, they appear noways impaired. These ill-founded notions are continually preying upon him ; he figures to himself the miseries of poverty and distress, and his disposition is as much affected by them as if they really existed. No weakness of mind, no want of judgment, appears in his conversation on any point, but that single one of his circumstances, which possesses him in such a manner as harasses him to death. Though he has draughts upon the bank and draughts upon his agent, he expresses himself in the most extreme want of money, and he has had from me all the cash I could spare ; but nothing alleviates his complaint.

. . . "Lady Sandwich is here with my lord. I was in hopes her company might in some degree relieve him ; but I do not find it to be the case. The physicians prescribe nothing at present, unless it be a little bark, and seem to think that time alone can give strength and cure. I am sure I need not hint to you that it is proper you should keep secret the exact state of my poor lord's health. This weakness is, I dare say, the effect of the fever ; but I should be

sorry anybody but yourself should know to what excess it is carried. God grant that I may be soon able to give you a better account of him! I ought to make many excuses for this letter. &c. &c.

(Signed) “DUNK HALIFAX.”*

Though everything was going on well, as far as the Admiralty was concerned, though the navy had not as yet any great exploit to boast of either at home or abroad, yet this illness of the second on the list of the Lords Commissioners, and the absence of the first lord at Woburn, threw a heavy responsibility on Anson, though the junior lord, except one, of the Board; and so tenacious were some of the others of their authority, as seniors, that Anson frequently found himself thwarted in the measures which he conceived best to be pursued for the king's service, and which he was desired by the Duke of Bedford to pursue; he was in fact the only efficient naval member of the Board. Lord Sandwich, however, speedily recovered, but found it advisable to remain for a while at Hinchbrook, from whence, in a letter of 25th May, 1746, addressed to Admiral Anson, is the following passage, relating to a most important subject:—

“I like the Duke of Newcastle's letter about the court-martial very well, and imagine you will take care to be constantly putting him in mind that his Majesty has promised that proper methods will be

* Anson's Collection, No. 184.

taken for preventing anything of the like nature for the future ; for, if this opportunity to establish our jurisdiction is not made use of, I fear it may be a long time before another will offer."

This mention of the court-martial, and the preservation of the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, allude to a matter of some delicacy, in which Anson acquitted himself with great judgment, and as one well versed in the powers and authorities vested in the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. On these powers and authorities he rightly conceived that the king, on the prayer of the House of Commons, had encroached. The nation, always jealous of the honour and character of the British navy, were clamorous against the Admirals Lestock and Matthews for their failure in the engagement of the French fleet off Toulon. As such occasions always supply matter for some member or other of the House of Commons to move for immediate inquiry, without giving time to the proper department to take such steps as the subject may require, so, in the present instance, a motion was made for certain officers being examined at the bar of the House, relative to the conduct of these two admirals, and of others in the fleet ; in consequence of which, the House came to the resolution of addressing his Majesty on the subject, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give directions that a court-martial should be held, in the most speedy and solemn manner, to inquire into the conduct, &c. &c. ; to

which his Majesty gave a gracious reply, and issued his commands to the Board of Admiralty, to order a court-martial to be assembled accordingly.

This proceeding, though so very unusual, and striking at once at the authority of the Admiralty, in whom alone the power was vested, was nevertheless complied with; but Admiral Anson felt it his duty to wait on the Duke of Newcastle, and humbly to remonstrate against such interference on the part of his Majesty, and to request he would submit to the king the injurious consequences that would result to his Majesty's naval service, should so unusual a stretch of authority unhappily be brought into a precedent. The king and his minister could not but see at once how necessary it was to maintain inviolate the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, as by law established, and by royal patent confirmed; and no instance of such interference has ever since occurred.

The result of this trial is well known. Admiral Matthews was cashiered and rendered incapable of any further employ in his Majesty's service; and Vice-Admiral Lestock was acquitted of all and every part of the charge. Eleven captains were tried, of whom two only were acquitted; three others were cashiered, but restored to the service; two were dismissed, and declared unfit for further employment; one cashiered and mulcted of a year's pay, but restored; one dismissed and placed on half-pay; one died on his passage home; and one deserted into Spain, and was no more heard of.

A very extraordinary circumstance occurred with regard to the members of this court-martial, which shows that it is not the Lords of the Admiralty alone who are tenacious of their privileges. While the court was sitting, the president was arrested by virtue of a writ of *capias*, issued from the Court of Common Pleas, in consequence of a verdict obtained by Lieutenant George Fry of the marines, against Sir Chaloner Ogle, Perry Mayne, and others, for alleged false imprisonment and ill-treatment in the West Indies, by means of an illegal sentence passed by a court-martial, of which they were members. The court, now sitting, highly indignant that their president, Perry Mayne, should, at such a moment, be arrested, entered into certain resolutions, containing disrespectful language against the Lord Chief Justice Willes, which were submitted to the Lords of the Admiralty. Their proceedings were sent by the Admiralty to the minister, accompanied with a request that they might be laid before the king, and received in reply a notification "that his Majesty expressed great displeasure at the insult offered to the court-martial, by which the military discipline of the navy is so much affected; and his Majesty will consider what steps it may be advisable to take on the occasion."

Chief Justice Willes was not a man to suffer the dignity of his court to be thus infringed, and his authority called in question; and no sooner did he hear of the resolutions that had been sent to the

king, than he caused warrants to be issued to take each individual member of the court-martial into custody; determined, as he said, to assert and maintain the authority of his office. The members, being advised of the strict legality of this proceeding of the judge, and that, from his character, he was likely to carry it to the utmost extent, thought it best to send him a submissive apology, which was drawn up in the following terms, and signed by the president and all the members:—

“As nothing is more becoming a gentleman than to acknowledge himself to be in the wrong, as soon as he is sensible he is so, and to be ready to make satisfaction to any person he has injured; we, therefore, whose names are underwritten, being thoroughly convinced that we were entirely mistaken in the opinion we had conceived of Lord Chief Justice Willes, think ourselves obliged in honour, as well as justice, to make him satisfaction as far as it is in our power. And, as the injury we did him was of a public nature, we do in this public manner declare, that we are now satisfied the reflections cast upon him in our resolutions of the 14th and 21st May last were unjust, unwarrantable, and without any foundation whatsoever; and we do ask pardon of his lordship, and of the Court of Common Pleas, for the indignity offered both to him and the court.”

It may be doubted whether, at this day, any chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas would, for such an offence, unintentional probably, and at any rate provoked, have exacted such an apology, or that any body of naval officers, assembled to perform a

public duty, would have submitted to make one of so humiliating a nature; more especially to such a man as Judge Willes, whose moral character and conduct were very far from being spotless. "He was not wont to disguise any of his passions. That for gaming was notorious; for women unbounded. There was a remarkable story current of a grave person's coming to reprove the scandal he gave, and to tell him that the world talked of one of his maid-servants being with child. Willes said, 'What is that to me?' The monitor answered, 'Oh! but they say it is by your Lordship.' 'And what is that to you?'"*

But, after all, was it legal to issue a warrant to take into custody judges, that were actually sitting on a trial affecting the lives of several persons? If so, would it not have been equally legal to arrest Chief Justice Willes while sitting on the judgment-seat, and in the midst of a trial, in virtue of a writ of *capias* issued by the Court of King's Bench? The same protection surely is due to the judges, forming a court-martial, and trying a prisoner, as to a judge of the Court of Common Pleas; but it is a question that is not likely to be mooted in our days, the judges being more prudent and better mannered than Judge Willes appears to have been.

In the year 1745, while the land-forces of Great Britain were employed in putting down the Rebellion,

* Walpole's Memoirs.

which had created a greater degree of alarm among the people, than the puny efforts of the few followers of the young adventurer might have been expected to produce, the navy was by no means inactive. The exertions of its officers and men were generally crowned with success, not only in the North Sea and the Channel, but along the whole coast of France, the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and America, and though no general actions were fought, the enemy's fleet not daring to show themselves out of their ports, yet several single and well-fought engagements took place, many convoys were dispersed, and numerous ships of immense value captured, to say nothing of the brilliant exploits of privateers, who brought into the kingdom a great accession of wealth. Lord Anson had, moreover, the gratification of receiving from his friend, Commodore Warren, an account of his successful attack on Fort Louisbourg, the garrison of which surrendered by capitulation, after a short resistance, on the 27th of June. The French colours being hoisted on the fortress as a decoy, whenever a sail appeared in the offing, were the means of enticing many valuable prizes into the harbour, and others were taken in those seas by his Majesty's cruisers and privateers, whose united cargoes are said to have amounted in value to more than one million sterling; that alone of one single ship, the *Notre Dame de Délivrance*, was estimated at 600,000*l*.

The news of the reduction of the important position of Louisbourg, which may be said to command the gulf and entrance into the River St. Lawrence, occasioned universal joy in England. It was on this occasion that the Duke of Newcastle is reported to have run to the king, not merely to announce to him the acquisition of this important fortress by his victorious arms, but also to give him information of a geographical discovery he had made, that Cape Breton was an island. Commodore Warren had been assisted by detachments of troops from the colonies under Governor Shirley and William Pepperell, esq.; and his Majesty was so well pleased with their conduct, that he conferred on each the command of a regiment, with the rank of colonel, and created the latter a baronet of Great Britain. Commodore Warren was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

A circumstance occurred in the early part of 1746, which must have occasioned much pain to Anson: the part he had in it, or the advice he gave on the occasion, cannot be known, nor is it of any consequence it should, as an act of the Board of Admiralty is always considered to be the act of each individual member. The affair alluded to is one of great harshness, and indeed of injustice, for it can be looked upon in no other light, inflicted on a brave officer, for such Admiral Vernon undoubtedly was. He had just been promoted to the rank of Admiral

of the White, and was ordered to hoist his flag on the 2nd August, 1745 ; to repair to the Downs, and take the command of that part of the Channel and of the North Sea, where he was indefatigable in making his arrangements, which were approved by the Admiralty. His correspondence with the Board, and with the officers of all ranks under his command, was however generally peevish and querulous ; indeed, he appears to have been of a very unhappy temper, not only dissatisfied with every one about him, but with himself, and he frequently hinted to the Board an intention to resign. At length, without any apparent reason, he writes to the first lord of the Admiralty, to desire he may be relieved in his command ; and the Board, on the day following, the 26th December, sent down *by express* the following not very usual order to strike his flag and come on shore.

“ Whereas you have been appointed by us to command a squadron of his Majesty’s ships in the Downs, in order to observe and watch the preparations and motions of the enemy at Dunkirk, and the neighbouring ports of Flanders and France, and to prevent their sending any succours from thence to his Majesty’s rebellious subjects in Scotland ; as also to guard the coasts of this kingdom from any attempts of the enemy to land there with an armed force ; and whereas since our appointment of you to the command of that service, you have in several letters expressed to us your dislike and dissatisfaction with the situation you are placed in, and an inclination to resign your command, which uneasiness and desire of resigning you have again repeated to us, in your

letter of yesterday's date, we have taken the same into our consideration, and do, in regard to your so often-mentioned desire of laying down your command, and that there is an experienced officer upon the spot to succeed you in it, signify hereby our consent thereto, and therefore do require and direct you to deliver up the command of all his Majesty's ships, and also of all other ships and vessels employed in his Majesty's service, and that are under your orders, to Vice-Admiral Martin, and to give him either such original orders as are in your hands unexecuted, or else attested copies of the same; and having so done, you are to strike your flag, and come ashore, for which this shall be your warrant.

Given, &c., 26th Dec., 1745.

TO ADMIRAL VERNON,
Downs.

BEDFORD,
SANDWICH,
ANSON, &c.

Per express at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock P.M.

That they should remove him from his command is by no means surprising. His self-conceit, his querulous disposition, his want of temper, and his abusive language, addressed through the secretary, rendered him unfit for such a command; and as all this was known to the Board, by his own publication of his quarrels and litigious conduct in the West Indies, the surprise is that they ever thought of appointing him. The extraordinary letter he addressed to the secretary of the Admiralty in June, 1744, might be deemed quite sufficient to disqualify him for such an office of trust and confidence. He says in this letter, "Your First Commissioner must either have

informed his Majesty that I was dead, or have laid something to my charge ;” and he concludes it thus : “I have thought proper to remind their lordships I am living, and have, I thank God, the same honest zeal reigning in my breast, that has animated me on all occasions, to approve myself a faithful and zealous subject and servant to my Royal Master ; and if the First Lord Commissioner has represented me in any other light to my Royal Master, he has acted with a *degeneracy* unbecoming the descendant from a noble father, whose memory I reverence and esteem, though I have no compliments to make *to the judgment or conduct of the son.*” His appointment, after this, bespeaks at least the good nature and forbearance of the *son*, the Duke of Bedford.

That unfortunate irritability, which was the ultimate ruin of this brave officer, would not allow him to remain quiet on the present occasion. His propensity for writing and indulging in intemperate and abusive language against the Board seemed to be more congenial with his feelings ; nor did he stop here. To give the greater publicity to his grievances, and at the same time a vent to his angry and impetuous temper, he published two anonymous pamphlets, in which were inserted the official letters he had received from the Secretary of State, as well as those from the Lords of the Admiralty, together with his own voluminous correspondence, in which he goes out of his way to combat their opinions, passing

strictures on their acts, and giving his own notions in opposition to theirs, on matters that had no relation to his command. This seems to have been considered so outrageous a breach of confidence, that the Board directed their secretary to call upon him to avow or disavow his being the author of the said pamphlets. The letter of Mr. Cleveland was certainly not couched in such courteous terms, as were calculated to soothe the irritable feelings of this gallant officer, who said he disdained to answer a question that no one had any right to put to him, and that he should answer it, if at all, to the Board of Admiralty. He was accordingly summoned to appear before the Board, which he immediately did; and in consequence thereof the following proceeding took place.

“At a meeting at the Admiralty-office, the 10th of April, 1746, in the evening,

“Present—His Grace the Duke of Bedford; Earl of Sandwich; Rear-Admiral Anson; Mr. Grenville; Mr. Legge; Lord Barrington.

“Admiral Vernon attending, was called in; and his Grace the Duke of Bedford acquainted him, that the Lords had taken notice of some things that had passed, and, as First Lord, he spoke to him as the mouth of the Board, who represented the Lord High Admiral. That, upon seeing two pamphlets published in print, called ‘A Specimen of naked Truth, from a British Sailor,’ and ‘Some seasonable Advice from an honest Sailor to whom it might have concerned, for the service of the C——n and C——y,’ they had ordered their secretary to write to him, to know whether

he was the publisher of them, or knew anything of their publication ; and, as he had given no negative answer thereto, they now demanded from him a plain and categorical answer, whether he was the publisher of those pamphlets, or whether they were committed to the press by his direction, consent, or knowledge? Mr. Vernon replied, that he had always a great honour and veneration for his Grace ; allowed his Grace was right in saying he represented the Lord High Admiral, but that he was mightily surprised at such questions, which were upon a matter of a private nature ; and that, as he thought he had the liberty of a subject, he did not look upon himself obliged to answer them ; that he had pleasure in saying he had always served as a faithful servant of the crown, and, as an officer, was always ready to obey their Lordships' commands.

“ Upon which his Grace replied that he was sent for as an officer, and that he spoke to him the sense of the Board in telling him that, as he did not deny the questions put to him, with relation to the publication of the aforesaid pamphlets, they could not but look upon him as the publisher of them. To which Mr. Vernon replied, that he was surprised his Grace should ask such a question, and then withdrew.

“ *Friday, 11th April, 1746.*

“ Present—The same Board as on the preceding day.

“ His Grace the Duke of Bedford acquainted the Lords, that he had attended the King this morning, and had informed his Majesty of what had passed between them and Admiral Vernon, with relation to the publication of two pamphlets, entitled ‘ A Specimen of naked Truth, from a British Sailor,’ and ‘ Some seasonable Advice from an honest

Sailor, to whom it might have concerned, for the service of the C——n and C——y,' and what had passed at his attendance here last night thereupon, and signified his Majesty's pleasure that the said Vice-Admiral Vernon* should be struck off the list of flag-officers.

“Resolved, that the same be done.”†

Strict justice may have required that such conduct should not be passed over without some severe censure, reprimand, or a resolution never to be again employed, such as a court-martial would probably have inflicted, if one could have been held. Something of this kind might have answered every purpose, without adopting so harsh and severe a punishment as that of removing his name from the list. The Board might have left him to the effect of that clever and biting “Letter,” occasioned by his “Specimen of *Naked Truth*,” supposed to have been written by Mr. Legge, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, which, together with his conduct while in the Downs, completely demolished that pretension to popularity which the affair of Porto Bello had conferred on him. “The brave conqueror of Porto Bello” (says the letter-writer) “with *six ships only* ; he that had destroyed the forts of Carthagea, and given us a holiday for an affair that, by the next express, put us all in mourning, we could not think sub-

* He was promoted to the rank of *Admiral* in April, 1745.

† “Minute Book” of the Admiralty.

ject to any meanness either of heart or temper. In short, we could hardly allow you the common imperfections of human nature. At the last general election, you might have been member, I believe, for almost half the boroughs in England. It was a kind of petty treason to give ear to the least insinuation to your disadvantage, which would, at that time, have been more severely resented in most public companies than disaffected expressions against his Majesty himself. You cannot be insensible, Sir, that we carried you in our pockets upon medals ; that we had you chased on the heads of our canes ; that a print of you, either from copper or wood, was seen in every house ; that we formed societies in your name, and that even the ladies wore you in their fans and snuff-boxes : nay, we had like to have made an annual festival on your birthday, equal to Gunpowder Treason, or King Charles' Restoration ; and we were one year so zealous in the affair, that we kept *two days*, upon a presumption that we were wrong in the first of them. All these are matters, I doubt not, concerning which you have taken care to have good information."

After this sarcastic display, which is nevertheless true, the letter-writer goes on to show him how the mighty are fallen—how his vanity, his ostentation, his bad temper, his rigour both to officers and seamen in the West Indies, his general rough behaviour, had alienated men's minds ; and that the king's service had

been more than once retarded, and a general odium brought upon those engaged in it, through the haughty and insulting carriage of him who ought to have conciliated all parties. He tells him the Duke of Bedford was willing, perhaps, to see if his merit would at last shine without his foible; "but if, upon this trial, you appeared again haughty, self-sufficient, uncommunicative, irregular, did it become the dignity of the honourable Board to continue you in command?" But, towards the conclusion, he says: "I can with pleasure reflect, after all, that Mr. Vernon, notwithstanding his weaknesses, cannot fail of making a considerable figure in English history: yes, the inflexible patriot, the undaunted, unwearied officer, the blunt honest man, will be remembered with honour, in spite of those frailties that were a bar to his being always employed."

This brave descendant of the ancient and honourable family of the Vernons, after his disgrace, lived generally in great retirement, very rarely attending his duty in the House of Commons, where he had made himself exceedingly disliked, as "a silly brawling admiral." It does not appear that he made any attempt, by submitting his case to the king, to be restored to the service, but retired to his seat at Nacton, in Suffolk, where he died at an advanced age, on the 30th October, 1757.

Though the French gave our brave fellows no opportunity, in the course of the year 1746, to dis-

tinguish themselves in any general action, yet, in single engagements, both by king's ships and privateers, several gallant exploits were performed. Among others Mr. Legge mentions two in a private letter to Anson, of the 1st May. "The king," he says, "has been spoken to in relation to Captain Phillips, who retook the Solebay, and is so well satisfied with his behaviour, that he gives us leave to reward him as we think proper. He cut the Solebay out of St. Martin's Road; there were on board her two hundred and forty men, and he had but one hundred and thirty himself, with fifty of whom he boarded her, and brought her out; and, in all respects, the action seems to be as gallant as one need wish to see in a summer's day. Phillips himself is very desirous to be made a captain in the king's service. But this, we suppose, you will have great objection to, as well as we have. Medals and money, we think, should be given liberally, and should be glad of your thoughts, and his Grace's, if with you, upon this subject." The recommendation of the duke and Anson was, that a purse of 500 guineas should be given, and a gold medal of the value of 200 guineas, which the king immediately sanctioned.

In the same year, however, Mr. Brown, the master of the Shoreham, having been placed in the command of a small privateer of two guns and twelve swivels, engaged for five or six hours a privateer of Bilboa, of ten guns, eighteen swivels, and seventy-

eight men, of whom forty-six were killed; all his ammunition being spent, he took her by boarding. Mr. Brown, for his gallant behaviour, was promoted to the rank of commander, and appointed to command a sloop of war.

The other action which Mr. Legge mentions in the same letter is a remarkable one. "Captain Molineux Shuldham (afterwards Lord Shuldham), who was taken in the Blast bomb, is just returned from Spain, and has been at the Board this morning. Nothing certainly was ever braver than his own and his men's behaviour. He was attacked by two privateers, each of which had more men than himself. His own complement was one hundred and eighteen, out of which forty-five were killed, and only twenty-two left unwounded. He received three wounds himself, and was left for dead upon the quarter-deck. He was cruelly used by the captains of the privateers, kept naked in the sun for two days, though covered with wounds, in hopes it would kill him; and indeed the governor of the Havanna seemed so sensible of this brutality, that, as Shuldham says, he did his utmost to make amends by his treatment; he sent for the captains of the privateers into Shuldham's presence, and offered to inflict any punishment upon them he should name. But Shuldham had so much generosity as to desire *none*. Upon all these accounts (and, into the bargain, he being a clever fellow), we hold him worthy of a post-ship, and pro-

pose to take the first opportunity of giving him one, if the duke and you approve.”*

The duke and Anson did approve, and ordered a captain's commission to be forthwith made out for him.

In this year several actions were fought singly and successfully by his Majesty's ships of war with those of the enemy of superior force in guns and men, in which the great disparity in the numbers of killed and wounded, in favour of the British, clearly pointed out the superior skill of the latter in gunnery and seamanship. The *Defiance*, for instance, captured the *Ambuscade*, of forty guns and three hundred men, having killed and wounded twenty-six of the enemy; the *Defiance* had one killed and three wounded.

The *Portland*, Captain Stevens, of fifty guns, after a close engagement of two hours, captured *L'Auguste*, of fifty guns and four hundred and seventy men; killed fifty and wounded ninety-four. The *Portland* had five killed and thirteen wounded.

The *Nottingham*, Captain P. Saumarez, of sixty guns and four hundred men, had an obstinate engagement of two hours with the *Mars*, of sixty-four guns and five hundred men; killed twenty-three men and wounded nineteen, having only three killed and nine wounded. Many other similar instances occurred in the course of the year 1746.

* Anson's Collections, No. 270. He adds in a P.S., "I have just heard the Duke of Newcastle say, it is a shame if Phillips is not made captain of the *Solebay*. So probably the king is inclined that way."

CHAPTER IV.

BRILLIANT EXPLOITS OF THE NAVY.

Order in Council for improving the building of Ships—Mode of promoting Admirals—Situation of old Captains—Orders in Council for their relief, by appointing them retired Rear-Admirals—Objectionable clause in the order—First established uniform—The year 1747 glorious for the British Navy—Duke of Bedford's opinion regarding the distribution of the fleet—Lord Sandwich's—Lord Anson's disposition of it—his information of two squadrons of the enemy about to sail—Makes preparations to intercept them—Determines to hoist his flag—Selects Rear-Admiral Warren for his second—Letter of the Duchess of Bedford—Falls in with, attacks, and takes six French ships of war—Admiral Warren pursues the rest—Great rejoicings on this first victory—Congratulations from Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich—Fox's squadron falls in with and captures a large portion of the St. Domingo fleet—Rear-Admiral Hawke appointed to command a squadron to intercept that of M. Letendur—Engages and takes five sail of the line and one fifty out of the eight—His account of the action—Captain Fox's conduct brought before a court-martial—is dismissed his ship, and never after employed—Numerous captures made, and several single actions fought—M. de Conflans taken by Captain Shirley—his unfounded charges against that officer—Captain Shirley's exposure of them—Relative ranks of army and navy settled—Boscawen sent to India with a large force of ships and troops—Unsuccessful attempt on Pondicherry—Hears of the peace, and returns to England.

1746 to 1749.

ANSON's active measures for preparing the fleet for sea, and his great desire for introducing an improved class of ships, and also for bettering the condition of the old captains of the navy, soon showed themselves by two important Orders in council, both of which could only have emanated from him,

whom experience had taught to feel the evils which he was anxious to remove. The first memorial of the Board relates to the building of ships. It states that, on examining the methods of building ships of the royal navy, the Lords of the Admiralty found that no establishment or regulation had been made since the year 1719, and that those regulations had been long since discontinued, and, instead thereof, ships had been built according to particular schemes or propositions, without any standard or uniformity, those of the same rate being often of unequal dimensions, so that the stores and furniture of one would not fit another of the same class, a matter of infinite inconvenience in point of service,* as well as the occasion of extravagance in point of expense; that they likewise found several complaints that the scantlings of the ships are not so large and strong as they should be, and that the ships themselves are crank, and heel so much in blowing weather, as not to be able to open their lee-ports, at the same time that ships of other nations go upright, with all their batteries open, and ready for action. It states that,

“These and other defects showed the necessity of establishing a fixed standard for building the ships of the royal navy, and that, thereupon, they gave orders to Sir Jacob Acworth, surveyor of the navy, and also to the masters shipwrights of his Majesty’s

* Lord Nelson most deeply felt, and frequently complained of this great inconvenience.

dock-yards, and likewise to some eminent ship-builders on the river Thames, to take this matter into their consideration, and to propose and lay before the Lords Commissioners their several opinions in writing, of such a system or establishment for building a ship of each rate, as might amend and rectify the present mistakes and errors therein, and contribute towards obtaining all the proper advantages and qualities that are essential to the making them good ships of war; which they having accordingly done, the said Lords Commissioners thought it proper, in the next place, to refer all the said reports to Sir John Norris, admiral of his Majesty's fleet, directing him to summon such of the flag-officers as were not in service at sea, such commissioners of the navy as have been commanders at sea, such captains as have served as commodores, and such other senior captains as should be thought fit, and to meet together and examine the said reports, as well as some other propositions of the same nature."

It then goes on to state, that "having finished their deliberations with great judgment and exactness," they submitted several propositions to the Board, which are not here necessary to enumerate or detail. The propositions were approved, and, in consequence of this business-like memorial, a better class of ships were introduced into the navy, but still imperfect, as the first, that were built and ready four years afterwards, were discovered to be, representa-

tions having been made by several captains that they did not steer so easy nor sail so well as was expected; and therefore, on the 5th July, 1750, another memorial from the Board was presented to the Lords Justices (the king then in Hanover), stating that, being on the point of ordering three ninety-gun ships, one eighty, one seventy, and two of sixty guns, they pray to be allowed to make such variations in the scheme of 1746 as may be thought necessary to improve them as ships of war.

The second memorial to the King in Council regarded promotion and retirement of flag-officers. It was intended to be an act of grace and favour in behalf of the veteran captains of the navy, who had long suffered, both in point of honour and emolument, by being passed over in the promotion of flag-officers; while their names were kept at the head of the efficient list of captains, with the scanty allowance of the half-pay then established, which, to the seniors, was 10*s.* a day. At that time brevet promotions of flag-officers appear to have been unknown, and seniority wholly disregarded.* When one or two admirals were required to be added to the list of flag-officers, the Board looked down the list until they arrived at one whom they considered the best entitled to receive the rank, and who was accordingly selected; undoubtedly the most effectual mode to obtain good

* The edition of the printed instructions brought out this year (1747) says, "No brevet commission shall be allowed."

and efficient flag-officers. Thus, for instance, a promotion of three rear-admirals took place in 1744, when Isaac Townsend, with fifty captains standing above him on the list, was selected, Henry Medley with fifty-one, and George Anson with fifty-five above him; the last, however, did not then take place, as has been seen.*

It will readily be supposed that so great a number of officers thus passed over, and left to subsist on the miserable pittance of half-pay, and, (what was far more grating and offensive to their feelings,) all hope of advancement cut off, with a mark, as it were, set upon their names, could not remain tranquil and indifferent under their grievances, but that frequent memorials and remonstrances must have been submitted to the favourable consideration of the Lords of the Admiralty, though hitherto, as it would appear, without success. Now, however, that a flag-officer of high reputation in the service had become an influ-

* At this time the total number of flag-officers on the list was so small that selection was indispensable. They were—

- 1 Admiral of the Fleet.
- 3 Admirals of the White.
- 3 Admirals of the Blue.
- 2 Vice-Admirals of the Red.
- 2 Vice-Admirals of the White.
- 1 Vice-Admiral of the Blue (the unfortunate Byng).
- 9 Rear-Admirals, 3 of each colour.

— Making a total of

21

The number of captains on the list was 209, so that about one-fourth of the whole had been set aside at the time of the above-mentioned promotions.

ential member of the Board, it may be supposed that Anson must have received, both in person and in writing, many touching appeals to his humanity, his justice, and love of the service, and many pressing entreaties for his powerful interest in their behalf. Be this as it may, the interference, from whatever quarter it proceeded, was successfully employed to a certain extent, as will appear from the following order in council :

“ At the court at Kensington, the 3rd day of June, 1747,
“ Present—The King’s most excellent Majesty in Council.

“ Whereas the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have represented to his Majesty at this Board, that, upon the promotion of admirals, it hath frequently happened that several old captains have been superseded by junior captains being made flag-officers over their heads, and though there hath not been any particular charge of misbehaviour or neglect of duty against the said old captains whilst in service, yet, from their great age and other infirmities, it hath been judged proper for his Majesty’s service to promote junior captains to the rank of admirals, as being more active and capable of discharging the great trust reposed in them ; that, as this has been the occasion of great discontent and complaint amongst such old captains, who think some regard ought to have been paid to the length of their services, and who only desire that, if they are not thought proper to be put into actual service with fleets under their command, they may, however, retire with honour, and have a competent subsistence in their old age,—the said Lords Commissioners therefore thought it proper to take the case of the said old captains into their consideration, and have

thereupon prepared and laid before his Majesty a proposal for removing the grounds of all such discontents and complaints amongst the said captains, and for preventing the same for the future; and whereas the Lords of the Committee of Council (to whom his Majesty had referred the consideration of the said proposal) have this day made their report to his Majesty upon the same :—His Majesty was thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, as it is hereby ordered, that, at the next promotion of flag-officers, such captains in the navy, who, notwithstanding their seniority, shall happen to be set aside by such promotion, as well as those who have been already set aside by any former promotions, as also those who shall at any time or times hereafter be set aside by future promotions, be appointed by commissions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to be rear-admirals in general terms, without expressing any squadron or division of colours used in the fleet; and that they shall be esteemed as superannuated sea-officers, and placed for the rest of their lives on the ordinary estimate of the navy, with a pension equal to the half-pay of a rear-admiral; provided that all such captains shall have served at sea since the commencement of the present war with Spain, and that they do make application to the said Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by petition for such commission or pension; but in case they, or any of them, shall not think fit to make such applications, that they shall, nevertheless, continue to receive half-pay as captains according to their seniority; and provided also, that no captains who have civil employment, or are upon the establishment of Greenwich Hospital, or command any of his Majesty's yachts, shall have the benefit of this establishment, but shall be considered as to their right to half-pay

when they are out of employment as captains only according to their seniority. And the said Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty are to take care that his Majesty's pleasure hereby signified be duly complied with.

(Signed) W. SHARPE.

This generous and munificent act, as it no doubt was intended to be, contains within it the same kind of vicious restriction which has affected all future orders in council on brevet promotions. The exception made in the present instance excluded more than one-half of those for whose benefit it appeared at first sight to be intended—"His Majesty is pleased to order that, at the next promotion of flag-officers, such captains of the navy, who, notwithstanding their seniority, shall happen to be set aside by such promotion, as well as those who *have been* already set aside by any former promotions, and also those who *shall* at any time or times hereafter be set aside by future promotions, shall be appointed, by commission, rear-admirals in general terms." Nothing could be more liberal or gracious than this; but the deadly clause which follows withers the apparent liberal intention:—"provided that all such captains shall have served at sea since the commencement of the present war with Spain." The effect of this will be apparent from the very next promotion of flag-officers, which took place the same year, when nine *

* This is a very unusual number, but none had been made for three years, and they were wanted, as *six* of the *nine* were immediately employed. In these six were Hawke, Knowles, Forbes, and Boscawen.

captains were promoted to active flags, and nineteen only made retired rear-admirals, out of upwards of fifty standing on the list of captains.

It appears from a letter of Legge, one of the junior lords of the Admiralty, to Mr. Anson, that the obnoxious clause was inserted by him. He says, "Nothing is yet finished with regard to *your scheme* of the superannuation, though the whole is fixed and waits only one council to execute. I have, with much difficulty, so far got the better of our noble friend's implicit tenderness (which I think highly commendable in him) to length of service, or, in other words, to *seniority of inexperience*, as to limit the retrospect of that plan to those who have served *since the commencement of the war with Spain*, and to carry the prospect of it as low down as the taking in of Boscawen."*

About the same time the Board of Admiralty decided to give an established uniform to naval officers; one account says, blue with white collars, cuffs, and facings, selected by the king, and taken from the Duchess of Bedford's riding-habit. But no order in council was issued, as has since been usual, nor was it gazetted; and there is some reason to believe that the general adoption of it was confined, or nearly so, for some time afterwards, to flag-officers and captains. It is stated, on what appears good authority, that when it had reached the wardroom, there

* Anson's Collection, No. 280.

was but one uniform coat to be put on by any of the lieutenants, when sent on duty to other ships, or on shore: that the colour of the breeches was still left to the fancy of each, and was generally black or scarlet. Major Rennell, in a letter to a friend, says, "Before Anson's time (it is said) the lieutenants of the navy on the Mediterranean station purchased the soldiers' old coats at Gibraltar and Mahon, and, trimming them with *black*, wore them as a uniform. Sixty-two years ago (in the year 1759) I saw a master of a man-of-war, who wore *a red coat so trimmed*, and thought himself very smart. Perhaps it was one of the *lieutenants' old coats*, as they then wore blue uniforms."

Another account seems to upset the story of the Duchess of Bedford's riding-habit, and that the uniform originated in the following manner. In a letter from Captain Keppel to Captain P. Saumarez, dated London, 25th August, 1747, is the following passage:—"Tim Brett tells me you have made a uniform coat, &c., after your own fancy; my Lord Anson is desirous that many of us should make coats after our own tastes, and then that a choice should be made of one to be general, and if you will appear in it here, he says he will be answerable your taste will not be amongst the worst." What the uniform selected was does not appear, nor can any order in council be found either in the Council Office, or in the Admiralty.

The year 1747 was the most glorious for the character of the British navy that had occurred since the commencement of the war in 1744. In fact, no brilliant achievement had been performed, and the few opportunities that occurred were neither satisfactory to the nation, nor honourable to the parties engaged; for instance, the disgraceful affair of Matthews and Lestock, of which the only good result was bringing forward one of the bravest, the most active, and distinguished officers in the king's service, Captain (afterwards Sir Edward) Hawke. Lestock's subsequent failure before L'Orient had cast a gloom over the nation, and still more so the cowardly conduct of Commodore Mitchell, who, with four sail-of-the-line and a large frigate, actually ran away from M. de Conflans, with two ships-of-the-line, a 54 and 44 gun ship, having besides with him a convoy of 60 sail of merchant-ships. It was small satisfaction to the country that he was rendered incapable, by court-martial, of ever serving again. Equally disgraceful was the conduct of Commodore Peyton in the East Indies, who declined meeting M. La Bourdonnais, and suffered him to blockade Madras, and to exact from the inhabitants a ransom of about half a million sterling. These unfortunate failures, with some minor captures of our convoys, tended to dispirit and to weaken, in the public mind, that confidence which had hitherto been placed in the navy.

A brighter view, however, opened upon the nation

in 1747. The disasters of one set of officers had stimulated others to wipe off the national disgrace. Besides, a few years' practice at sea had improved both officers and seamen in their professional duties; and the encouragement given to the one by promotion, and to the other by the large sums of prize-money they looked to receive, particularly from captures of Spanish ships, quickened their zeal, and with it their love for the service. Most of the officers who were with Lord Anson round the world had been promoted, were employed in the command of ships, and had distinguished themselves, which, in the situation he now held, must have been peculiarly gratifying, and the more so, as to him had been consigned the responsibility and the labouring oar at the Board, the Duke of Bedford being confined at Woburn Abbey, and Lord Sandwich at Aix-la-Chapelle, whither he had been sent to negotiate, on the part of England, a general peace. But as, in the mean while, one more campaign at the very least might be expected, Lord Anson was naturally anxious to ascertain, from his two absent colleagues, their respective opinions regarding the disposition of the fleet, more particularly on the home station. The following letter explains the views of the Duke of Bedford on this subject:—

“ DEAR SIR—I am very glad to find that, when you waited upon the king, to receive his pleasure about the deserters, he gave you an opportunity of discoursing with him

with relation to our naval strength at home ; and I entirely agree with you in what you said to his Majesty on that subject. You know my opinion has long been that we ought to unite all the ships cruising to the westward, whether in the Bay, off the Isle of Bas and St. Malo's, or off Cape Clear, into one squadron ; and I am the more strongly confirmed in that opinion at present, because, by the sending away so great a force to America as is now designed to be put under the command of Admiral Lestock, we are incapacitated from dividing our force to the westward, which, when collected together, is not more than sufficient to withstand the Brest and Rochfort fleets, if united with that of Ferrol. I am, moreover, confident that these are the sentiments of his Majesty, as well as of the ministers, who, I think, very justly agree that no little *agreements* of making prizes on the enemy ought in any measure to be put in competition with the keeping an ascendancy over them in the Channel.

“ Dear Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed)

“ BEDFORD.”*

Lord Sandwich writes as follows :—

“ You desire my opinion with relation to the recalling the ships that are now out to refit and recruit their men. I must own that till I hear of the arrival of the St. Domingo fleet I shall not be entirely easy without we have a sufficient force cruising to intercept them ; nor do I think the time that it will be necessary for Mr. Boscawen to remain on that service so great, that it can in any material degree delay the refitting the ships, as he will probably not be able to keep the sea much longer than till the ships now in hand are despatched. I think, indeed (if it was practicable for our

* Anson's Collection, No. 70.

orders to take place, which I greatly doubt), it might be a prudent measure for Mr. Boscawen to send Lord George Graham with the Nottingham, Eagle, Maidstone, and two or three of the cleanest of his squadron, on this service, and return with the remainder himself to Spithead; but, as I have already said, I think the intercepting the Domingo fleet too great an object not to be very seriously attended to, as I can never think there is any danger of an insult in our Channel, notwithstanding the present division of our force. There are at least eleven ships-of-the-line ready for immediate service, exclusive of four ninety-gun ships, which might be manned out of the frigates upon any alarm. Other things will be dropping in every day; the Sunderland and Falkland particularly may be expected every hour; and as this strength is in reality a force of eighteen or twenty sail of ships, and the enemy must see it greater, as they cannot know the direct condition of some of our ships, which, though we reckon nothing, must appear to them in a different light (I mean such as the Royal Sovereign, Sandwich, Princess Royal), I cannot conceive the enemy will ever think of an attempt in this part of the world, or that it can be dangerous to leave some ships out to perform this important service, particularly as it must, in my opinion, be over, one way or other, in ten days or a fortnight; and, by immediately recalling them, we shall fall into the same trap which has, during the whole war, been so successfully laid for us, of giving way to every sudden alarm, and by that means have missed every advantage fortune would have thrown in our way. This is my real opinion of our present situation; but I am so little positive or confident of my own judgment, that if, on considering this matter more fully, you and the Duke of Bedford are of a different sentiment, and think it will be

right to recall our force from the westward immediately, I shall have no difficulty to give up my opinion to those who, I am sure, must know much better than myself; and I shall never intimate to any person whatever that I was of another sentiment, because I think every act of this consequence, one way or other, ought to be considered as the act of the whole; and you may be assured, however you determine, it will have all the support I am able to give it.

“ I am, &c.

“ SANDWICH.”*

Anson, on the receipt of these two opinions, decided on steering a middle course, by calling in a portion of the western cruisers to watch the ports of Brest and Rochfort, leaving a sufficient number to intercept the expected convoy. In the expediency of this measure he was further confirmed, in the early part of 1747, by intelligence that the French, notwithstanding the ill success which had attended D’Anville’s expedition to North America the preceding year, were fitting out a squadron to reinforce that which remained there, with a view to recover, if possible, Cape Breton, the key to their settlements on the river St. Lawrence. It was also understood that a second squadron was in readiness to proceed as a reinforcement to M. Dupleix, whose success in the East Indies had inspired the French with hopes that, by sending out a strong detachment of ships, troops, and stores, he would be enabled to complete the con-

* Anson’s Collection, No. 345.

quest of the whole of the British settlements on the coast of Coromandel. The command of the first squadron was given to M. de la Jonquiere, *Chef d'Escadre*, and of the second to M. de St. George. The ministry had also received information that, in order to ensure their safety and that of their convoys as far to the southward as Cape St. Vincent, the two squadrons would sail together, calculating that, from their knowledge of the weakness of our naval force on the home station, they would be superior to anything that could be sent out to intercept them. It was considered of the greatest possible importance to defeat these two objects of the enemy, intended to reinforce their squadrons on two distinct stations, where they were already more than equal to ours. Anson resolved, therefore, to fit out a fleet forthwith, the command of which, with the approbation and desire of the Duke of Bedford, was to be taken by himself; and he appointed his friend, Rear-Admiral Warren, as his second. Among the ships called in from their cruising-ground, to be employed on this service, were the *Defiance*, of sixty guns, commanded by Captain F. Grenville, the brother of George Grenville, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and the *Bristol*, of fifty guns, commanded by the Hon. W. Montagu, brother of Lord Sandwich. Whether it was owing to the repugnance felt by these gentlemen to serve in a fleet, instead of cruising alone, or whether, from the mistaken zeal

and undue interference of their friends at the Board of Admiralty unsought for, does not appear, but an intrigue was discovered to be carrying on by certain members of that Board, with the view of preventing these two ships from joining Anson's squadron, the more absurd, as it could not escape detection, and could not, by any possibility, be carried into effect. The following letter, which Lord Anson received, when his flag was flying at Plymouth, from the Duchess of Bedford, fully develops this intrigue:—

“ Sir,

“ As the Duke of Bedford cannot write himself, and has an affair of some consequence to impart, that he does not care to trust to any other secretary, I am obliged to trouble you with this letter.

“ The night after you left London Mr. Grenville came to the Duke, and after some other discourse brought in the *Defiance* and *Bristol* being put under your command, and seemed uneasy lest his brother should be balked of the favourite voyage by your detaining him in the western squadron, and likewise seemed fearful that, if he proceeded on it, detached from you, the admiral's eighth share might (in case of any accidents happening to you) be claimed by your representatives. The next morning Lord Vere came to him, and mentioned, with some concern, Mr. Grenville's uneasiness, and very fairly owned to him that he had advised you to take them under your command. The Duke desired him to explain this matter, and satisfy Mr. Grenville, which, he thought, would have put an end to the whole affair; but, contrary to his expectations, Lord Barrington came to him just before dinner, and told him that, notwithstanding all

Lord Vere had said, Mr. Grenville was still uneasy, to which the Duke answered that no alteration could be made; in consequence of which, before Lord Vere left the Board, an order was directed for putting the ships under your command. Lord Barrington returned in the afternoon, and, without communicating anything to Lord Vere, brought an order in his pocket, which he desired the duke to sign, to put the ships under your command, with an injunction, *not to keep them above seven days* after you were out of the Channel. This order was treated with the contempt it deserved, and absolutely refused to be signed, as highly injurious to you, and what they should deserve to be hanged for, if it was done. Upon this Lord Barrington produces the order you will have received. This, together with another transaction that has happened since, convinces the duke of the combination Mr. Grenville and Lord Barrington are in, to carry their favourite points by any means whatsoever, by endeavouring to trepan him to sign an order, which none of his friends could have justified him for doing.

“ I am very much yours, &c.

“ Saturday night.”

“ G. BEDFORD.*

This extraordinary proceeding on the part of the junior members of the Board of Admiralty, in the absence of the three principal ones, is such as could not be tolerated for a moment; and the Duke of Bedford was not tardy in marking the indignity put upon himself and his Board, for in two months after the transaction a new patent came out, in which the name of Wellbore Ellis, Esq., was substituted for that of George Grenville.

* Anson's Collection, No. 72.

Captain Montague, of the Bristol, after Anson's action, was found at Madeira by Rear-Admiral Boscawen on his way to India, from whence he thus writes to Lord Anson:—

“Captain Montague of the Bristol joined me the day before I anchored here. I have had much trouble with him, and been obliged to confine him, at the desire of the governor of this place, he having put up a paper at the Custom-house that he would beat one of the captains of the Indiamen wherever he met him; and, at the same time, telling everybody he would put him to death; and, upon inquiry, I found the captain of the Indiaman to blame in nothing but want of spirit, for suffering himself to be insulted without having in the least offended.”*

This extraordinary conduct, and the numerous complaints made against him, appear to have estranged Lord Sandwich from him altogether, who writes as follows to Lord Anson:—

“My brother's general behaviour, and his particular conduct to me, affects me so much that I cannot write upon it with any degree of connexion. I find that mild treatment will not save him, and indeed I think, at the same time, that nothing will. Thank God, the world can have no reproach to throw upon me on his account, and, what is still a more sensible satisfaction to me, I have nothing on that score to reproach myself with; and it is with great grief I add, I fear it will not be long before that will be my only satisfaction as to what regards him. . . . I cannot conclude this disagreeable subject without returning my most sincere thanks

* Anson's Collection, No. 88.

for the many acts of friendship I have received from you, as well as for your favours to my brother, which I am sure were upon my account, as I know you are too good a judge of mankind to have done them on his."*

On the 9th April, 1747, Vice-Admiral Anson sailed from Plymouth with the following squadron under his orders :—

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Prince George . .	90	770	{ Vice-Admiral Geo. Anson. Captain Bentley.
Devonshire . . .	66	535	{ Rear-Admiral P. Warren. Captain West.
Namur	74	650	Hon. Captain Boscawen.
Princess Louisa .	60	400	Captain Watson.
Monmouth . . .	64	480	Captain Harrison.
Prince Frederick .	64	480	Captain Norris.
Defiance	60	400	Captain Grenville.
Nottingham . . .	60	400	Captain Saumarez.
Yarmouth	64	480	Captain Brett.
Windsor	60	480	Captain Hanway.
Falkland	50	300	Captain Barradel.
Centurion	50	375	Captain Denis.
Bristol	50	300	Hon. W. Montagu.
Pembroke	60	400	Captain Fincher.
Ambuscade	40	250	Captain J. Montagu.
Falcon sloop.			
Vulcan fire-ship.			

* Mad as this unfortunate young officer was, and by which epithet he was known in the service, it is but justice to add that, in the action about to be mentioned, he conducted himself with great gallantry and zeal. When the Bristol, of fifty guns, bore down upon and began to engage the Invincible, of seventy-four guns, Captain Fincher of the Pembroke hailed the Bristol, and requested Montagu to put his helm a starboard, or the Pembroke would run foul of him—"Run foul of me," says Montagu, "and be d—d! neither you nor any man breathing shall come between me and my enemy." He next

On the 16th May, Captain Demis, of his Majesty's ship *Centurion*, arrived at the Admiralty, with the following despatch from Vice-Admiral Anson, giving an account of his having, on the 3rd May, fallen in with and engaged the combined squadrons.

"In my former letter," the admiral says, "of the 2nd instant, I observed to you that I had sent the *Inverness* and *Falcon* sloop to cruise off Rochefort to watch the motions of the enemy, and that I had directed their commanders, if they met the French fleet in their way thither, or should discover them coming out of the harbour, to inform themselves of the course they were steering, and then return immediately to acquaint me with it, falling in with me separately, the one in latitude $44^{\circ} 30'$, and the other in that of $45^{\circ} 20'$.

"The next morning at day-break I made the signal for the fleet to spread in a line abreast, each ship keeping at the distance of a mile from the other, that there might not remain the least probability for the enemy to pass by us undiscovered. At seven o'clock Captain Gwyn of the *Falcon* sloop returned, and informed me that he had seen the French fleet the day before, at four o'clock, bearing S.E. by S. four or five leagues from him; that it consisted of thirty-eight sail, nine of which were large ships, and had the appearance of men-of-war, the rest merchant-men under their convoy, and that they were all steering to the westward.

"Upon this intelligence I put abroad the signal for calling in all cruisers, and made sail immediately for the S.W. in order to cut them off. At half an hour after nine, the

engaged the *Diamant*, of sixty-six guns, and, after an action of more than an hour, completely dismasted her, when she struck. The slaughter in this ship was immense.

Namur made a signal for seeing a fleet in the S.W., which was also seen soon after by the man at the Prince George's mast-head bearing S.W. by S., Cape Finisterre at the same time bearing S. $\frac{1}{4}$ E., distant twenty-four leagues. I then made the signal to chase with the whole fleet, and by noon plainly discerned the chase to be a French fleet; that nine of the ships had shortened sail, and were drawing into a line of battle a-head, three of which appeared to be smaller than the others, and that the rest of the fleet, whom I judged to be under their convoy, were stretching to the westward with all the sail they could set.

“ At one o'clock I made the signal for the line of battle abreast, and in half an hour afterwards for the line a-head. About three I made the signal for the ship in the van to lead more large, in order to come to a close engagement with the enemy; who, getting their fore-tacks on board, and loosing their top-gallant-sails, convinced me that their sole aim was to gain time, and endeavour to make their escape under favour of the night, finding themselves deceived in our strength; upon which I made a signal for the whole fleet to pursue the enemy, and attack them, without having any regard to the line of battle.

“ The Centurion having got up with the sternmost ship of the enemy about four o'clock, began to engage her, upon which two of the largest of the enemy's ships bore down to her assistance. The Namur, Defiance, and Windsor, being the headmost ships, soon entered into the action, and after having disabled those ships in such a manner that the ships astern must come up with them, they made sail a-head to prevent the van of the enemy making an escape, as did also several other ships of the fleet.

“ The Yarmouth and Devonshire having got up and en-

gaged the enemy, and the Prince George being near the Invincible, and going to fire into her, all the ships in the enemy's rear struck their colours between six and seven o'clock; as did all those that were in the line before night. I brought to at seven, having ordered the Monmouth, Yarmouth, and Nottingham to pursue the convoy, who then bore W. by S. at the distance only of four or five leagues, so that I am in hopes of having a very good account of them.

"The Falcon sloop (which I had sent after the convoy during the action, with orders to make signals to the other ships) returned to the fleet the next day with the Dartmouth Indianman. I have taken in all six men-of-war and four Indianmen, of which are the particulars as under:—

		Guns.		
Le Serieux	. .	66	M. le Jonquière, chef d'Escadre,	} Bound to Quebec.
Le Diamant	. .	66	M. Hoguart,	
Le Rubis	. .	52	M. M'Curty,	
La Gloire	. .	44	M. Salesse	
L'Invincible	. .	74	M. St. George,	} Bound to the East Indies.
Le Jason	. .	54	M. Beeard,	
Le Philibert	. .	30	M. Cellié,	
L'Apollon	. .	30	M. de Santons,	
La Thetis	. .	20	M. Maçon,	
Le Dartmouth	. .	18	M. Pinoche,	} India- men.

"The Ruby had struck several of her guns into the hold, having all the guns and stores on board for a new frigate at Quebec. I have put the prizes into a condition to proceed with me to Spithead, and am in hopes that I shall arrive there in a few days; but it has taken up so much of our time, together with shifting and distributing our prisoners, that I have not hitherto been able to get a perfect account of the killed and wounded on either side. Our loss is not

very considerable, except that of Captain Grenville, who was an excellent officer and is a great loss to the service in general. Captain Boscawen was wounded in the shoulder by a musket-ball, but is almost recovered.

“To do justice to the French officers, they did their duty well, and lost their ships with honour ; scarcely any of them striking their colours till their ships were dismasted. M. St. George kept his colours flying some time after the General had struck. The *Serieux* and *Diamant* were with great difficulty kept from sinking, which could not have been prevented without throwing great part of their guns overboard, as well as many chests of small arms intended for the expedition. The French general, M. de la Jonquière, is wounded in two places, the captain of the *Gloire* killed, and the second captain of the *Invincible* had his leg shot off.

“ I am, &c.

(Signed)

“ ANSON.”*

The French in this unequal combat fought most gallantly. Their loss, as afterwards ascertained, was about seven hundred in killed and wounded, that of the British about five hundred and twenty. No one could doubt the issue, with so great a superiority over the enemy both in ships and men ; but the neat manner, in which the whole were swept into the toils, reflects credit on the seamanship and discipline of the British ships ; and great merit is due to Anson for so promptly annulling the signal for the line a-head, the moment he observed the French making sail, and for throwing out that for a general attack, without regard to the line of battle.

* Admiralty Records.

When the commander of the *Invincible*, which struck to the *Prince George*, came on board that ship, the manner in which he approached the vice-admiral, to deliver up his sword, made a favourable impression on Anson and his officers. He said, with a placid and undisturbed countenance, "*Monsieur, vous avez vaincu l'Invincible et la Gloire vous suit;*"* an epigrammatic compliment, as true as it is pointed, and said in a manner highly characteristic of this brave and gentlemanly officer, between whom and Anson commenced a friendship and an intimacy, alike honourable to both, which ceased only with the death of Anson.

Anson must have felt a high gratification in seeing his old ship the *Centurion*, now commanded by her former lieutenant, lead to the attack, and bravely followed up by his two old protégés, Piercy Brett and Philip Saumarez, ably assisted by his friend Rear-Admiral Warren. The detached ships, under the last officer, picked up three of the enemy's ships of war, the *Vigilante* and *Modeste*, of 22 guns each, and the *Dartmouth*, of 18 guns; besides capturing the remainder of the India squadron that were not in the action. They also captured six others of the convoy. The treasure found in the squadron amounted to about 300,000*l.*, besides stores of all kinds, of

* Most of the accounts give this address to M. La Jonquière, but the wounds of this officer prevented him from going on board the *Prince George*.

very great value. The money, on the arrival of the ships at Portsmouth, was put into twenty waggons, conveyed to London, and taken in grand military procession through the streets of the city to the Bank, amidst the acclamations of many thousand persons. The houses were illuminated, and bonfires in every street. The Duke of Bedford says, "You will easily believe no one in this town did with greater joy receive the news of your great success against the French than myself; and universal, I may say it is, as I am just come home through illuminated streets and bonfires. The king told me this morning at his levee that I had given him the best breakfast he had had this long time, and I think I never saw him more pleased in my life. He has ordered Captain Denis a reward of 500*l*. for bringing this welcome news."*

Lord Sandwich from the Hague, says, "Dear Sir, though I am in hopes in a very few days to have the great satisfaction of seeing you in England, yet I cannot think of losing a moment to express my joy on account of your success, which I have so much cause to be pleased with, for the service it will do to the public; though I cannot help owning that I almost feel *that* to be an inferior consideration, and that my chief happiness arises from the credit you will have done yourself in this glorious affair. Nobody can be more clear than I am in opinion that

* Anson's Collection, No. 73.

there is no mark of distinction that you have not long ago merited.”*

Some of the writers on naval history observe that, considering the disparity of force, it was not an event that called for bonfires and illuminations; but the circumstances of the time fully justified these rejoicings. The navy had as yet done nothing effectually in the war, and, as before observed, the unfortunate affair of Matthews and Lestock had cast a gloom and despondency over the nation. There is in the character of Englishmen however an elasticity that easily elevates, and as easily depresses, their spirits. The army under the Duke of Cumberland might be beaten, as it sometimes was, without affecting the nation generally, or extending beyond political parties; but any disaster or failure befalling the navy, was always productive of intense national feeling. No wonder then, that, after the failure of the Mediterranean fleet, the capture by Anson of a whole squadron, and the complete defeat of two expeditions, should call forth an ebullition of public joy. It was the first general action, except that of Matthews and Lestock, and the first victory gained in the war; and it is an old saying, that the first blow is half the battle. Like the first victory of Lord Howe, it inspired the navy, and animated the nation.

When the vice-admiral waited on the King, he met with the most cordial reception, and his Majesty

* Anson's Collection, No. 350.

said to him, in the most gracious manner, "Sir, you have done a great service. I thank you ; and desire you to thank, in my name, all the officers and private men for their bravery and conduct, with which I am well pleased." On the 13th June his Majesty was further pleased to create Vice-Admiral Anson a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Lord Anson, Baron of Soberton, in the county of Hants ; and Rear-Admiral Warren was honoured with the military Order of the Bath.

Captain Fox of the *Kent*, of seventy-four guns, with a squadron consisting of one sixty-four, two sixties, one fifty, one forty-four, and the *Pluto* and *Dolphin*, fire-ships, which had been prepared by Anson for the express purpose of intercepting the *San Domingo* convoy, received information that it had left the West Indies under a convoy of four ships of war, commanded by M. Bois de la Mothe. On the 20th June, when in lat. $47^{\circ} 18' N.$, about sunrise, Fox got sight of the convoy he had been so long cruising for, consisting of at least one hundred and twenty ships. Captain Fox crowded all sail he could carry, and stood directly for the ships of war, which, as it afterwards appeared, consisted of one of seventy-four guns, one of sixty-four, one of fifty-four, and one of thirty-six guns. Our ships, being foul, sailed so ill, that night was approaching before Fox could get within two leagues of M. du Bois de la Mothe's squadron, which guarded the rear of his convoy. The next day

the chase was renewed, and a favourable breeze springing up about five in the evening, Fox was fast coming up with the enemy, which, being perceived, they set all sail, and made off, leaving the fleet of merchant ships to shift for themselves. They therefore dispersed, and had not the weather become thick, the greater part of them would, in all probability, have been taken. As it was, the number captured by Fox's squadron was forty-five, and the ships left with Rear-Admiral (now Sir Peter) Warren picked up four: the rest got into the different ports on the coast of France, and De la Mothe and his squadron arrived safe in Brest. This valuable capture was laden with sugar, indigo, cotton, coffee, and hides, their aggregate tonnage being estimated at 16,051, and manned with 1197 seamen; the loss of which to France, with other captures made by the detached squadron of Anson, under Admiral Warren, could not have been less than a million sterling.*

Soon after the return of Admiral (now Lord) Anson, information was received at the Admiralty of a large fleet of merchant ships, preparing to sail from Basque Roads for the West Indies, under convoy of a strong squadron of ships of war, com-

* The net sum to be divided among the captors, as appears by an account (in the Anson Papers) kept by Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Stephens, is 755,896*l.*, of which the eighth is 94,487*l.*, and of this sum Anson's account is credited with 62,991*l.* and Warren's with 31,496*l.*

manded by M. de Letendeur. Orders were immediately issued to prepare a sufficient force to intercept this convoy, and that active and gallant officer, Rear-Admiral Hawke, was directed to hoist his flag in the Devonshire, of sixty-six guns, and take the command of the squadron, which consisted of fourteen sail of the line, besides frigates. Hawke at this time was an officer not much known, and from the year 1734, when he was made captain, had chiefly remained on shore until, in 1743, he was appointed to the Berwick, of seventy-four guns, and ordered to join Admiral Matthews. It therefore occasioned a good deal of surprise in the service, that so important a command should be given to so young a flag-officer, and one who had so little distinguished himself; but Anson had noted the character and conduct of the man, though the public had not, for his gallant bearing and brilliant success in the action of Matthews and Lestock, in 1744, in which so many officers were disgraced. In the course of that action the *El Poder*, a Spanish ship, of sixty-four, had driven one of our ships out of the line, which Hawke, in the Berwick, perceiving, bore down upon her within pistol-shot, poured into her a broadside with such effect, that in a few minutes afterwards she struck, and was taken possession of by the Berwick, in the face of both the fleets,—the only capture that was made on that day; but a melancholy fate attended the *El Poder*. Being dismasted, and unable to follow the British fleet when they wore, she was retaken by the

French squadron, while she had on board a lieutenant and twenty-three men, belonging to the *Berwick* : to prevent her falling again into the hands of the English, the French set her on fire, and abandoned her; and she blew up in the night. In the first Supplement to the *Gazette* no mention is made of the *Berwick*, or of the name of Hawke; it stated only that a ship of Navarre, of sixty-six guns, was obliged to surrender; and that of 900 men, only the captain and 200 were saved, when she was ordered to be burnt. In the subsequent *Gazette*, containing Matthews' despatch, nothing more is said of the *Poder*, except that Captain Hawke, of the *Berwick*, left her, but could not get his lieutenant and twenty-three men out of her; his first lieutenant having done all he could to persuade the men to quit her, but in vain.

If, for the moment, Anson caused some displeasure in the appointment of such a man, he obtained great credit for having got together this powerful squadron in so short a time, it being completely fitted and ready for sea the first week in August. On the 9th of that month, the rear-admiral put to sea from Plymouth, and lost no time in getting into a position, which appeared to him best calculated to intercept the enemy's fleet, which, however, did not leave Rochelle Road until the 8th October. There is in Hawke's narrative of his rencontre with the enemy, something so much more clear and circumstantial, than is usually the case in the description of naval

battles, that no abridgment could be made without destroying in some degree its interest; and no apology therefore is necessary for giving it *in extenso*.

“ At seven in the morning of the 14th October, being in the latitude of $47^{\circ} 49'$ N. longitude, from Cape Finisterre $1^{\circ} 2'$ W., the Edinburgh made the signal for seven sail in the south-east quarter. I immediately made the signal for all the fleet to chase. About eight we saw a great number of ships, but so crowded together, that we could not count them. At ten made the signal for the line-of-battle a-head. The *Louisa*, being the headmost and weathermost ship, made the signal for discovering eleven sail of the enemy's line-of-battle ships. Half an hour after, Captain Fox in the *Kent* hailed us, and said they counted twelve very large ships. Soon after I perceived the enemy's convoy to crowd away with all the sail they could set, while their ships of war were endeavouring to form in a line astern of them, and hauled near the wind, under their topsails and foresails, and some with top-gallant sails set. Finding we lost time in forming our line, while the enemy was standing away from us, at eleven made the signal for the whole squadron to chase: half an hour after, observing our headmost ships to be within a proper distance, I made the signal to engage, which was immediately obeyed. The *Lion* and *Princess Louisa* began the engagement, and were followed by the rest of the squadron as they could come up, and went from rear to van. The enemy having the weather-gage of us, and a smart and constant fire being kept on both sides, the smoke prevented my seeing the number of the enemy, or what happened on either side for some time. In passing on to the first ship we could get near, we received many fires at a distance, till we came close to the *Severne*, of fifty guns, which we soon silenced, and left to be taken up by the

frigates astern. Then perceiving the *Eagle* and *Edinburgh* (who had lost her fore-topmast) engaged, we kept our wind as close as possible, in order to assist them. This attempt of ours was frustrated by the *Eagle's* falling twice on board us, having had her wheel shot to pieces, and all the men at it killed, and all her braces and bowlines gone. This drove us to leeward, and prevented our attacking *Le Monarche*, of seventy-four, and the *Tonnant*, of eighty guns, within any distance to do execution. However, we attempted both, especially the latter. While we were engaged with her, the breechings of all our lower-deck guns broke, and the guns flew fore and aft, which obliged us to shoot a-head, for our upper and quarter-deck guns could not reach her. Captain Harland in the *Tilbury*, observing that she fired single guns at us, in order to dismast us, stood on the other tack, between her and the *Devonshire*, and gave her a very smart fire. By the time the new breechings were all seized I was got almost alongside the *Trident*, of sixty-four guns, whom I engaged as soon as possible, and silenced by as brisk a fire as I could make. Just before I attacked her, observing the *Kent*, which seemed to have little or no damage, at some distance astern of the *Tonnant*, I flung out Captain Fox's pendant, to make sail a-head to engage her, as I saw it was in her power to get close up with her, she being somewhat disabled, having lost her main-topmast. Seeing some of our ships at that time not so closely engaged as I could have wished, and not being well able to distinguish who they were, I flung out the signal for coming to a closer engagement. Soon after I got alongside, within musket-shot of the *Terrible*, of seventy-four guns, and 700 men. Near seven at night she called out for quarter.

“ Thus far I have been particular with regard to the share the *Devonshire* bore in the action of that day. As to the

other ships, as far as fell within my notice, their commanders, officers, and companies behaved with the greatest spirit and resolution, in every respect like Englishmen. Only I am sorry to acquaint their Lordships that I must except Captain Fox, whose conduct on that day I beg they would give directions for inquiring into at a court-martial.

“ Having observed that six of the enemy’s ships had struck, and it being very dark, and our own ships dispersed, I thought it best to bring to for that night; and seeing a great firing a long way a-stern of me, I was in hopes to have seen more of the enemy’s ships taken in the morning; but instead of that, I received the melancholy account of Captain Saumarez being killed, and that the Tonnant had escaped in the night by the assistance of the Intrepide, which, by having the wind of our ships, had received no damage that I could perceive. Immediately I called a council of war.

“ As to the French convoys escaping, it was not possible for me to detach any ships after them at first, or during the action, except the frigates, and that, I thought, would have been imprudent, as I observed several large ships of war among them; and, to confirm me in this opinion, I have since learned that they had the Content of sixty-four guns, and many frigates from thirty-six guns downwards; however, I took a step which seemed to me the most probable to intercept them; for, as soon as I could man and victual the Weazel sloop, I detached her with an express to Commodore Legge (Leeward Islands).

“ As the enemy’s ships were large, except the Severne, they took a great deal of drubbing, and lost all their masts, excepting two, who had their foremasts left: this has obliged me to lay by these two days past, in order to put

them into a condition to be brought into port, as well as our own, which have suffered greatly.

“I have sent this express by Captain Moore of the Devonshire, in the Hector; and it would be doing great injustice to merit not to say that he signalised himself greatly in the action.”

The following are the lists of the two squadrons engaged in the action:—

ENGLISH.			Men.	Guns.
Devonshire . . .	{ Rear-Admiral Hawke } { Captain Moore }		550	66
Kent	Captain Fox		480	64
Edinburgh	Captain Cotes		480	70
Yarmouth	Captain Saunders . . .		500	64
Monmouth	Captain Harrison . . .		480	70
Princess Louisa . .	Captain Watson		400	60
Windsor	Captain Hanway		400	60
Lion	Captain Scott		400	60
Tilbury	Captain Harland		400	60
Nottingham	Captain Saumarez . . .		400	60
Defiance	Captain Bentley		400	60
Eagle	Captain Rodney		400	60
Gloucester	Captain Durell		300	50
Portland	Captain Steevens . . .		300	50
			5890	854

FRENCH.			Men.	Guns.
Le Tonnant	822	80	Escaped.	
L'Intrepide	686	74		
Le Terrible	686	74	Taken.	
Le Menarche	686	74		
Le Neptune	686	74		
Le Trident	650	64		
Le Tongueux	650	64		
Le Severne	550	50		
			5416	554

The loss sustained by the enemy was said to amount to nearly eight hundred men in killed and wounded, and Captain de la Fromentiere of the Neptune was killed. Our loss was one hundred and fifty-four men killed, among whom fell the gallant Captain Saumarez of the Nottingham, an officer most deservedly lamented, and by none more so than by Lord Anson, whose lieutenant he was in the Centurion; the number wounded amounted to five hundred and fifty-eight. "It reflects the highest honour," says one historian, "on that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raised by his influence, approved themselves, in all respects, worthy of the commands to which they were preferred; and it is not a little remarkable that, of the fourteen captains commanding the line-of-battle ships in this action, two were in succession made commissioners of the dock-yard at Chatham, and ten arrived at the rank of admirals"—a rank, as it has been observed, which, in those days, was conferred generally by selection, and for meritorious conduct and good service.

On the 31st October Rear-Admiral Hawke, with his squadron and prizes, arrived at Portsmouth. He was honoured by the King with the military order of the Bath, and when he waited on his Majesty, he met with a most gracious reception, and high commendations for his gallant conduct.*

* An amusing circumstance occurred when Lord Chesterfield read Hawke's despatch to the King. At that passage where it is said,

Lord Sandwich, on sending to Anson his congratulations on Hawke's success, says—"You may easily believe me when I tell you it is with the utmost pleasure that I congratulate you upon the fresh success of our fleet under the command of Rear-Admiral Hawke ; besides the advantage this great stroke will give to us in our public affairs, the credit and reputation it will give to our marine cannot but afford me a most thorough satisfaction ; for it is impossible for any one to have the prosperity of a profession more sincerely at heart than I have of that of which you are so deservedly considered as the chief director ; and to whose knowledge and ability the world is very ready to attribute the different figure that the English fleet has made in the last years from what it did in the beginning of the war."*

In a subsequent letter, he says—"I am sorry to hear of Captain Fox's acquittal : surely Admiral Hawke could never have accused him so publicly without reason ; and I can easily see, if he was guilty, that his going off unpunished will do much hurt to

"As the enemy's ships were large they took a great deal of drubbing," the King stopped him, and asked what was the meaning of the word *drubbing* ? Just then, the Duke of Bedford entering the closet, the earl begged to refer his Majesty to his Grace, who understood it perfectly. The reason of the reference being explained, the King laughed most heartily, and said he now knew very well what *drubbing* meant. The Duke, but a little time before, had a *fracas* on the race-course at Lichfield, in which he was roughly handled, but rescued by the timely interference of Mr. Rigby.

* Anson's Collection, No. 357.

the service, which always gives me concern ; for I can very sincerely declare, that the prosperity of your profession is, and always has been, my favourite object."

Admiral Lord Anson, equally alive to the honour of the profession, had ordered a court-martial on Captain Fox, which sat on the 25th November to try him on a charge, "That he did not come properly into the fight, nor do his utmost to engage, distress, and damage the enemy ; nor assist his Majesty's ships which did." The fact was proved ; but his defence was, that his first lieutenant and master asserted that the Kent's signal was out to come to the admiral's assistance ; and on this he left the Tonnant, the ship he was then engaging. The signal was, in fact, for close engagement, but the officers of the Kent might have mistaken it, which was no unusual case at this time from the defective state of our signals.* The court were of opinion that the charges were proved ; that he was guilty of having backed his mizen-top-sail : they acquitted him of cowardice ; but because he paid too much regard to the advice of his officers, contrary to his own better judgment, they sentenced him to be dismissed from the present command of the Kent. Though he had always maintained the character of a good and brave officer, he was never after-

* Keppel, however, who was on the court-martial, in a private letter to Anson, says, he believes the first lieutenant and the master to be great scoundrels, and did all they could to ruin Fox, who, he further says, "was in the hands of two damned bad fellows, I really believe."

wards employed, and died a superannuated rear-admiral in the year 1763.

The year 1747 closed with the arrival in the English ports of several captured ships of war, sloops chiefly, numerous privateers, and merchantmen of the enemy. The Russel and Dartmouth fell in with and captured a large Spanish ship, the *Glorioso*, of seventy guns and seven hundred men, his own crew being only four hundred, of whom twenty were on the sick list, and unable to come to quarters.

Sir Edward Hawke was again despatched, in January, 1747-8, with a squadron consisting of two ships of seventy-four guns, three of sixty, and four of fifty guns. On the 31st January, two of them, the *Nottingham* of sixty, and the *Portland* of fifty guns, were sent by the rear-admiral to chase a large ship, the former of which came up with her, and began a close and running engagement, which lasted nearly six hours, when, after the *Portland* got up, she struck her colours. She proved to be the *Magnanime* of seventy-four guns and six hundred and eighty-six men, forty-five of whom were killed and one hundred and five wounded. The number killed in the *Nottingham* was sixteen, and wounded eighteen; in the *Portland* four were wounded. This noble prize was added to the British navy, and became the favourite ship of Lord Howe, under whose command much valuable service was rendered to the country in the seven years' war.

In April of this year, another squadron was sent

out, in which were six sail-of-the-line of Dutch ships, stipulated for by Lord Sandwich, and ordered to join ours intended for the western squadron, under the command of Sir Peter Warren ; but, shortly after their leaving the port, his Majesty having informed his Parliament that preliminary articles for a general peace had been signed at Aix la Chapelle, a vessel of war was forthwith despatched, with directions for Rear-Admirals Hawke and Warren to return into port.

On foreign stations the British flag had no rival, and our colonies were everywhere free from insult. The Company's settlements in India must, however, be excepted. Here, sometimes from a superiority of force, sometimes from ill management on our part, the French were either triumphant, or contrived to neutralise our exertions. Sir George Pococke was sent with a squadron to the East Indies, where he did nothing. Peyton having left Madras to the mercy of the enemy, was superseded and sent home with disgrace by Commodore Griffin. This officer, immediately on his arrival, blockaded Pondicherry ; the reduction of this settlement being the principal object which his armament, joined to the ships left by Peyton, was intended to accomplish ; it failed, however, and all he could do was to protect the British settlements from falling into the hands of the French. On reaching England, in 1748, he was brought to a court-martial for misconduct before Pondicherry ; and for not endeavouring to do his

utmost to bring the French squadron to action off the coast of Coromandel; sentenced to be suspended from his rank and employment as a flag-officer (being now vice-admiral of the Blue) during his Majesty's pleasure; but was soon after restored.

Lord Anson therefore, towards the end of 1747, on consultation with the Duke of Bedford, resolved to prepare and send out to India an expedition of such magnitude, as should insure a preponderating influence over any enemy in that quarter, regain Madras, and drive the French out of Pondicherry. In the choice of an officer, to be recommended to the King for the command of the expedition, he could not for a moment hesitate. It fell on one, of whose gallant conduct and vigorous exertions Anson had himself ocular proof, when the former was in command of the *Namur* in the action off Cape Finisterre. This officer was Rear-Admiral the Hon. Edward Boscawen; yet, in appointing him, the shaft of malice was levelled at Anson in secret, for it never saw the light till two generations had passed away, when it appeared in the *Memoirs of Horace Walpole*. This caustic and not very scrupulous writer states, that, in 1751, when Anson was first lord of the Admiralty, "Admiral Boscawen was on the very worst terms with him, who had carried off all the glory of the victory at Cape Finisterre, though Boscawen had done the service, and whom he suspected of having sent him on the impracticable expedition to Pondicherry on purpose to

ruin him." It is hardly necessary to say that this sarcastic sentence is wholly unfounded, and contains as many lies as lines. An armament of six sail-of-the-line, four of fifty guns, and five or six smaller vessels, as a reinforcement, with above five thousand land-forces, under the command of a young rear-admiral, was a signal mark of distinction, and was so considered. But ignorance, coupled with malevolence, is always ready to pervert the best intentions.

It is not necessary here to enter into any particulars of the unsuccessful result of this expedition. No blame whatever was imputed to the admiral; on the contrary, having landed at the head of the troops and trained seamen, he is said to have shown himself as skilful a general as he had before proved himself an able sea officer. When compelled to retreat, from circumstances he could not have foreseen, he brought off his people so ably, that the enemy, numerous as they were, never endeavoured to molest them. The fact was, that having fought his way within a mile of the place, it was found to have been insulated by an inundation that rendered a nearer approach impossible; and the harbour was too shallow to admit of the squadron bombarding the town with any effect. The siege lasted for two months, during which time the loss of the British land-forces amounted to 757 soldiers, 43 artillery, and 265 seamen.

Soon after this event, intelligence was brought to India of the general peace which had been concluded

at Aix-la Chapelle; in consequence of which Fort St. George at Madras was delivered up, and taken possession of by Mr. Boscawen, who remained to see every other stipulation on the part of the enemy complied with according to the articles of the treaty. This delay, however, was the cause of a most melancholy disaster. On the 13th April, 1749, a tremendous hurricane was experienced on the coast of Coromandel. The *Namur* was at anchor in the road of Fort St. David when it commenced; at seven in the evening she put to sea, and, unable to resist the storm, foundered, and went down in nine fathoms water. The admiral himself was fortunately on shore, and about twenty of her crew sick in the hospital. Captain Marshall, the third lieutenant, the captain of marines, the surgeon, purser, chaplain, boatswain, and about forty seamen, were all that were saved out of a crew of nearly six hundred men. The *Pembroke* and the *Apollo*, hospital-ship, were lost the following day, with the greater part of their crews. The admiral, having concluded his arrangements, embarked for England on the 9th October, 1749, and arrived at St. Helen's on the 14th April following, when he was ordered to strike his flag and come on shore; and, in 1751, when Lord Anson was appointed first lord of the Admiralty, he selected him as one of the naval members of his Board.

Among the numerous captures made by single ships in the year 1747, was one that occasioned more

trouble and consideration than the subject connected with it required. The *Dover*, commanded by Captain Shirley, when between Ushant and Belleisle, fell in with the *Renommée*, of thirty-two guns, and three hundred men, having lost her fore-topmast, sprung her mainmast, and much of her rigging cut by the *Amazon*, (which had engaged her the day before,) and after a short action with the *Dover*, he struck, having sixteen men killed, and between thirty and forty wounded, besides losing four killed and eight wounded in the action with the *Amazon*; the *Dover* had one killed and eight wounded. In this ship was M. de Conflans, going out as governor of St. Domingo. The conduct of this person, who figured in the future war as a naval officer, afforded, on the present occasion, a most unfavourable contrast with that amiable and brave man, St. George. Though the capture of the squadron which this gallant officer commanded, had blighted his prospects, destroyed his hopes, and ruined his fortunes, or, as he says in his letters to Anson, “Ayant tout perdu hormis l’honneur,” he bore his misfortune bravely, never murmured at his fate, but made himself so agreeable to Anson and all the officers of the *Prince George*, while he remained a prisoner on board, that every one took an interest in him. “Pour moi,” he writes, “qui y perds plus que personne au monde, et à qui il ne reste que l’honneur, j’avoueray à toute l’Europe que j’ay trouvé dans M. L’Amiral Anson, le vain-

queur la plus genereux, le plus compatissant et l'amy le plus respectable et le plus sensible."

When Anson had obtained leave for him to return to France, on his parole, he urged in such strong terms his wish to see London, that the noble Lord obtained permission for him to do so, introduced him to his colleagues at the Admiralty, to the ministers, to the club at White's, and even procured for him an interview with the King; in short, every body was delighted with M. St. George, and he was not ungrateful. His account of the treatment he had met with, and that of the French prisoners generally, of the good feeling of the English towards France, and the great desire that the negotiations then pending might be successful, tended very much to do away a suspicion, which lurked in the cabinet of Versailles, that England was not in earnest. Sir Joseph Yorke, and Mr. Thomas Anson, who met with him at that court, had strong proofs of this. Long after the peace he was anxious that Lord Anson should visit Paris, that he might have the opportunity of showing him the same kind of civility which he had received in London.*

* One of his letters, written in English, announcing his intention of re-visiting London, is here given as a curiosity.

" My Lord,

" I am in gréat hopes, and in greater desire of crossing the sea in the beginning of May, expressing, first, to pay my most humble respects to my Lady Anson, and to have the honour of getting acquainted with the respectable consort of the dearest of my friends, and most generous of conquerors. Second, to give due thanks to your

To return to M. Conflans. This officer thought fit to bring a charge of ungentlemanlike treatment, and something worse, against Captain Shirley, which Lordship for so many proofs of generosity, and to cultivate that happy friendship that begun so far from our native countries, and that will be certainly everlasting. Third, to pay a very agreeable visit, of which I am, with all my heart, in debt with your beloved and dear brother, Mr. Anson, or on the Thames, or on the Trent borders, also to your very gentle and amiable nephew, my Lord Parker, and to your good friend, Mr. Mytton.

"These are indeed three very agreeable objects for my crossing the sea with pleasure; to which I will add, to see so many lords, that your friendship have procured me the honour of knowing in my little stay at London, namely, your brethren, Lords Duncannon and Barrington, and those which I had the honour of seeing in the famous and respectable club of Weight (White's).

"But I hope principally that under the happy auspices of your charming brother-in-law (now I may say my friend, Mr. Le Colonel York, an able statesman, and as busy in his great ministerial employments, as he is amiable in the society of the ladies), I will have the honour of presenting my most humble respects to my Lord High Chancellor.

"I dare not say that, in my heart, a very flattering aim would be, if by your friendly assistance I may have the honour of bowing myself again before one of the greatest and the most gracious monarchs in the world, to give his Majesty my most humble thanks for the great honour that he bestowed upon (I dare not say) me, but upon the friends and the prisoner of the valiant and generous Lord Admiral Anson, his beloved subject, and the man that gives most honour by sea to his glorious reign. Adieu, my Lord. I hope that your Lordship will understand my English, because my letter is the expression of the heart, and the heart's tongue is to be understood well everywhere, but mostly by so good and so generous friends. The dear Colonel wrote for getting me a room in the Pall Mall, the nearest to my Lady Anson and your Lordship. I am in expectation of seeing you, and with great respect to you both,

"My Lord, your most humble servant,

"and everlasting friend,

"Paris, 18th Avril, 1749."

"ST. GEORGE.*

* Anson's Collection, No. 418.

He transmitted to the Duke of Bedford. The Duke writes from Woburn the following letter to Lord Anson, dated 7th October, 1747:—

“ My dear Lord,

“ I send you enclosed (which I desire you will communicate to the Board) the copy of a letter I have received by this post from the Chevalier de Conflans, who was taken prisoner by Captain Shirley in the *Dover*, and brought into Plymouth. The rank and character of M. de Conflans in the French navy is so well known, that I own it gives me infinite concern to receive a complaint from a man of his figure, against a man of quality, a captain of one of the king’s ships, for ungentlemanlike behaviour to him and the rest of the French officers after they were taken prisoners. I beg this affair may be inquired thoroughly into, in order, not only to make all possible reparation to M. de Conflans, but also to clear the officers of the navy, and the nation in general, from any aspersions, that the brutal and unofficerlike behaviour of this man might otherwise cast upon them. I will write by to-morrow’s post to the Duke of Newcastle, to beg the favour of him to apply to the king for M. de Conflans, his equipage, and the commission officers of the frigate, having leave to return to France upon their parole. I think the behaviour of the French to the Captains Keppel and Lisle, and the rest of the officers of the *Maidstone* and *Severn*, very justly entitle their officers to a like return of civility and politeness from us. I will by the first opportunity acquaint M. Conflans with what I have done, and I doubt not but that, in the mean time, the Board will indulge him in everything that is reasonable an officer of his rank should ask. I believe the First Lieutenant of the *Dover* is

one Mr. Thomas Lempriere, of whom I have always heard a very good character, and who may possibly be able to give some light into this affair."*

The Duke of Bedford has in this letter expressed a proper feeling towards the treatment of officers of the enemy, who have been unfortunate like M. de Conflans; but he appears at the same time to have been a little too severe, as well as too hasty, in passing condemnation on Captain Shirley. Lord Anson had already called upon this officer to explain the conduct imputed to him by M. de Conflans, and received from him the following account, which proves how very unworthy the Frenchman was of the favour which the Duke had obtained for him. Captain Shirley says:—

“Dover, Plymouth, 11th October, 1747.

“Your Lordship’s generosity and goodness, which were so beautifully expressed in your favour of the 6th instant, gave me the utmost astonishment and joy. Your friendship, my Lord, in giving me an opportunity of vindicating my character (which was so basely aspersed), shall be always acknowledged with the utmost gratitude and thanks. Neither could I before be in the least insensible of your Lordship’s esteem for our family, having already so bountifully bestowed it on me, and can only wish it may be in my power to merit a continuance, since it is impossible I should ever be able to repay it. I must now beg your Lordship’s patience, and leave, to trouble you with a detail of the usage M. Conflans met with (which he calls ill-treatment), and which, I assure you, on my honour, is fact.

* Anson’s Collection, No. 81.

“ When the *Renommée* struck, they called out to us that she was sinking, and desired us to hasten our boats on board, which we did. The first boat brought on board M. Conflans, the captain of the ship, and his brother, with two or three more officers, when M. Conflans complained of a wound that he had received in the hip. I immediately led him aft to the lieutenant’s cabin; and as soon as I could get my own cabin up, and things a little to rights below, got all the officers and him down into my cabin, and put M. Conflans into my own bed, where he lay till we came in here. All the time he was on board he never would eat at my table, where all the other officers did, but ate always in the state-room. His own cook dressed his dinner, which consisted of soups, and which he chose, on account of his wound: this was dressed chiefly by his own surgeon, though once my surgeon was called on a consultation, who assured me that the skin was not raised, and that he had often seen a greater contusion from a blow at cudgels. I ordered my servants to supply his cook with everything he asked for, and when the fowls grew short, I ordered that none should be killed but for his use.

“ I should first have mentioned to your Lordship that we had no sooner shifted our prisoners than the wind began to blow very hard, which continued for some days. We separated from the prize, and had not an opportunity of sending for his clothes; but as soon as we joined her again, I got them all on board the *Dover*, and sent the officers on board the prize to search for whatever belonged to them. They found the greatest part; but, before we had taken possession, their own people had broken open and plundered their chests, and, as their number was greater than ours considerably, we had not an opportunity of searching them

till they were going on shore, being obliged to put them all down in the hold; and then, what we found belonging to the officers, distributed amongst them. In short, I believe I may venture to say, that less plunder (in regard to clothes) was never known than in this ship. Nay, every ounce of plate belonging to M. Conflans, &c., I took care to secure for him; and I must beg leave to say that I don't believe he lost sixpence, except the merchandise he was carrying abroad as a venture, which I looked upon as the ship's cargo. The captain and other officers, whom he told your Lordship were also robbed and ill used, are so far from thinking so, that when I acquainted them with what M. Conflans had reported to your Lordship, they were as much surprised as myself. Had I treated him even as he represented, I could hardly think myself culpable, as he was never genteel enough to show me his commission, nor produce it, though I often asked for it. That your Lordship may have an idea of M. Conflans' honour and integrity, I must beg leave to mention, that the evening he came on shore here, I provided him lodgings and everything necessary for his reception. He at first, indeed, made a little bustle against my officers, who, he said, wanted to search his chests and trunks when coming on shore; but on my assuring him they would come on shore unmolested, he thanked me, embraced me, and begged my friendship; and the very next day, or the day after (as I suppose) wrote to your Lordship a downright falsehood.

“ I am sorry I have not the honour of being better known to your Lordship, but I flatter myself, if your Lordship will be kind enough to inquire into my character, you will find me at least a charitable man, and above a mean and base action. I am afraid I have already intruded too long on

your Lordship's patience, and shall therefore only beg leave to add, that I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

(Signed) "W. SHIRLEY."*

Thus the Duke's interposition in favour of an undeserving object was premature and ill bestowed. On his departure he wrote a letter of thanks to Lord Anson for the civilities he had received; in it he observes—"La façon noble et genereuse, my lord, avec laquelle vous pensez, me fait oublier entièrement les procédés du Capitain Shirley, que j'attribue à sa jeunesse et à son peu d'expérience." M. de Conflans was doomed, however, twice afterwards, to suffer the mortification of being annoyed by the British navy—once in being stopped on the high seas by Captain P. Denis, of the *Centurion*, when carrying out intelligence to the French colonies of the cessation of arms, and a second time, by suffering a complete defeat, in 1759, when Hawke drove him to take shelter among the rocks, and destroyed half his fleet.

Lord Sandwich estimated more correctly the position of this chevalier.

"Hague, 28th November, 1747.

"MY DEAR LORD—I have heard by accident that the French demand the release of M. Conflans, in virtue of the cartel of Frankfort, as he is a lieutenant-general in the King of France's service. As I have always at heart everything that concerns the interest of your profession, I cannot but express my apprehension lest you should not consider that

* Anson's Collection, No. 397.

affair with sufficient attention ; for if you yield the point, I think we should, for the future, be obliged to restore, upon the footing of the cartel, all officers in the French fleet of any rank ; for it is, I believe, certain, that M. Conflans' rank as lieutenant-general is either a consequence of his rank in the fleet (which in France, you know, is ascertained with the land-service, as I hope it will be with us), or of his being governor of St. Domingo, which is the same thing, those governments being always given to sea-officers."*

Speaking, in another letter, of comparative rank in the two services, he says :—" I hope that matter does not sleep, as I am sure it will do great good to the service, and I think this is the time we ought to push any of our purposes, as I flatter myself we are generally in favour, and consequently more likely to succeed now than hereafter." It may here be mentioned that Anson had this point settled by Order in Council of 10th February, 1747, and it still continues without alteration ; the Order, however, was not published till the 5th March, 1748.

* Anson's Collection, No. 359.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

The duties of First Lord executed by Anson—Lord Vere's interference and incapacity—Rules of precedence at the Board—Change of the Board in consequence of Lord Chesterfield resigning the seals, the Duke of Bedford accepting them, and Lord Sandwich's appointment as First Lord—Correspondence of the Duke, the Earl, and Lord Anson on the occasion—Lord Sandwich's pressing letters, desiring Anson to consider himself, in all respects, as in his place—Anson's marriage with the Lord Chancellor's daughter—Lord Hardwicke's letters to him on the occasion—His anxiety and affection for Lady Anson, on the score of her health—Difficulties of Lord Sandwich at Aix-la-Chapelle—Suggestion of the Duke of Cumberland with regard to the establishment of a Marine Corps—Conclusion of the war—Lord Vere, in the absence of Sandwich and Anson, appoints a commander-in-chief—He resigns both the Admiralty and Navy—The first visitation of the dock-yards by the Board—unsatisfactory state of—An act passed for consolidating the laws relating to the Navy—apparent severity of—Question respecting a sentence of transportation—legal opinion of—Lord Barrington's motion for providing seamen for the Navy dropped—Old Horace Walpole's story—Change in the Board of Admiralty, Lord Sandwich dismissed by Newcastle's intrigues, and Lord Anson appointed First Lord.

1748 to 1755.

IN the frequent absence of the Duke of Bedford, from indisposition, and of Lord Sandwich, first at the Hague and then at Aix-la-Chapelle, negotiating a general peace, it has been seen that Lord Anson was obliged to take upon himself nearly the sole charge

and responsibility of the duties of the Admiralty, though his name stood below that of Lord Vere Beauclerc in the patent; but he was particularly and frequently requested to do so, both by the noble duke and the earl. There was indeed good reason why it should be so. Lord Vere had seen little or no service since he was made a captain, at twenty-one years of age, and probably in the whole course of his life never saw a shot fired in anger. It is true he commanded a frigate in the Mediterranean station for three or four years, but appears to have been employed chiefly in carrying despatches from Lisbon to the Mediterranean, and from the latter to the former, or wherever they were required to be sent; and, being one of the squadron under Sir Charles Wager, he was once sent with that admiral's compliments of excuse to the Grand Duke of Florence, for not having waited on him himself.

Whether he was for this, or some similar service, placed as a junior lord of the Admiralty, when Sir Charles Wager was at the head of the board in 1738, his naval biographer has not stated; but he resigned his situation in 1742, and was re-appointed, under the Duke of Bedford, in 1744. In 1745 he was raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and, in 1749, threw up his situation at the Admiralty, and, at the same time, or shortly after, his commission in the navy, when he was created a peer of Great Britain. It is probable,

therefore, that he owed his advancement rather to his being the son of the Duke of St. Alban's, than to any service he had performed in the navy.

It is evident, however, from the correspondence of Lord Sandwich with Anson, that the latter was very materially interfered with by Lord Vere, who presumed on his seniority at the Board. It was of no avail that Anson was selected as the advising naval lord; or that, in the civil department of the service, seniority at that time went for nothing; the seats at the Board were taken according as the names stood in the patent, which continued to be the rule until the Whig administration, under Lord Grey, adopted a new one, which gave to the first lord of the Admiralty the privilege, if necessary, to settle the precedence at the Board; and this probably is the right course, as the principal or advising naval lord must necessarily be next the first, whatever his rank may be.*

* We have a memorable illustration of the old rule when Sir George Cockburn was appointed to the Admiralty: coming in with two others, he stood, as a matter of course, nearly the last in the patent—in fact, all but the junior lord—whereas Sir George Warrender, having remained at the Board till he had seen out all his old colleagues, stood at the head; but Sir George Cockburn was the first or advising lord. When Sir James Graham came to the Admiralty, he wished to keep Sir Henry Hotham, who, under the old rule, would have stood second in the patent, or immediately after the first lord; but, on being told that Lord Grey had recommended Sir Thomas Hardy, junior to him, to stand first, Sir Henry, being a high-minded but rather punctilious officer, declined a seat at the Board. Thus Anson, though junior to all but one, was considered, in fact, after Lord Sandwich, as the leading member of the Board.

On the 8th February, 1748, an event occurred which caused a change in the Board of Admiralty, somewhat, though not materially, affecting the position of Lord Anson. The Earl of Chesterfield suddenly and unexpectedly notified to the minister his intention of resigning the seals as secretary of state. "The whole affair," writes Baron Clarke to Lord Sandwich, "occasions great confusion, and many people have been talked of to succeed, though no one to any purpose but your lordship and Mr. Fox; and, it is said, the Duke of Bedford is fixed upon as one who will prevent any mischief from determining in favour of either of the competitors;" and he adds, "I don't apprehend anything in favour of Lord Anson in prejudice to you on this occasion; but, if you are not immediately declared the head of the Board, the world will think you are neglected; and who knows what may happen in a month or two?"*

Mr. Fox was not supposed to have any chance. Lord Anson tells Lord Sandwich that "the Walpolean party, who gain strength daily, neither love him nor you; and I think Mr. Fox, whose ability and credit in the House of Commons are great, will, in my private opinion, push both the brothers (Duke of Newcastle and Pelham) whenever he sees a fair opportunity, for he does not want ambition, nor any qualities that are necessary to raise a man in this country to the height of power."†

* Lord Sandwich's Collection.

† *Ib.*

To which Lord Sandwich replies—"I agree with you in what you say about this gentleman, that he does not want ambition or any qualities to raise a man in our government; but that is not enough, as I am sure he wants many qualities necessary to maintain himself after his rise, so that it would be much more easy for him to pull down than to build: however, I hope we shall put ourselves out of his reach."*

Lord Sandwich was no less in disesteem than Fox with the Pelhams. His friend, Baron Clarke, tells him in plain terms he must always bear this in view: "You are looked upon as a man of too much weight and consequence to be left at liberty near the throne. This is no flattery of mine, as will be obvious when I tell you that, of late, it has been the echo from their dependants and table-deckers, that Lord Sandwich is a great young man, and no doubt will make a great figure in the government; but it seems rather *too soon* for him to be setting up for himself, and making parties of his own."†

The acceptance of the seals by the Duke of Bedford put an end to the expectations of all the candidates. His Grace, on the 12th February, kissed hands as secretary of state, and a new patent was ordered, appointing Lord Sandwich first lord commissioner of the Admiralty. On the same day his Grace acquainted Anson with what had taken place. "The

* Lord Sandwich's Collection of MS. Letters.

† Lord Sandwich's Collection.

die," he says, "is at last thrown, and I have this morning kissed the king's hand in the closet for the seals, and the king puts Lord Sandwich in my place at this Board. The thing was going, I was afraid, to take so wrong a turn with regard to Lord Sandwich, that I began to be afraid lest he should be passed over in the change Lord Chesterfield's resignation must have occasioned. I was called in unexpectedly into the king's closet, and, I can assure you, was under no small concern at the task his Majesty has ordered me to undertake. But I hope, when the peace is made, to have as good success in getting Lord Sandwich appointed my successor for the seals, as I have now the satisfaction to see him established at the head of this Board."*

On the 14th Lord Anson writes to Lord Sandwich as follows:—

"Of Lord Chesterfield's resignation, and what has happened since, the particulars you will have from Legge, to whose friendly aid you are much obliged, although you have not attained the office your friends wish to see you in. It was owing in a great measure to the Duke of Bedford's firmness and Legge's management that a disagreement did not happen in the administration, which, at this time, might have been fatal to this country. The dispositions of people in general here are much changed since you left us; all now seem inclined for peace: indeed the raising of eleven millions for next year is greatly dreaded, as it will show to the whole world how near this nation is of becoming bank-

* Anson's Collection of MS. Letters, No. 84.

rupt; and the citizens, being likely to be losers by the present loan to the government, have changed their note from war to peace. I therefore hope that, when you have got your troops in the field, and have put on your whiskers, some good occasion will happen of treating for a peace in earnest: it is certainly the thing wished for universally; and if it is not brought about I fear there will be much ill blood in Parliament next session.

“Your Lordship will easily conceive how disagreeable my situation must be, upon the Duke of Bedford’s removal and your Lordship’s absence, to act under Lord Vere, who, I find, is determined to continue at the Board, and seemed to be pleased with the change, as he imagines your continuance there will not be long. Be assured, my dear Lord, that, except in ceremony and correspondence, at both of which I am extremely awkward, no man living can be more sincerely your friend.

(Signed) “ANSON.”*

His Lordship, however, having acted a part in the drama, of which Lord Sandwich seems not to be aware, gave to his friend, on the following day, a full and particular account, showing how matters of this kind were then managed.

“*February 15, 1748.*

“MY DEAR LORD—As your Lordship is now in possession of the Admiralty, where no man can wish you more satisfaction than I do, nor be more desirous of being an assistant to you, you will permit me to talk very freely with you upon the subject of it, and explain to you the disagreeable situation your absence places me in, as I find, from

* Lord Sandwich’s Collection of MS. Letters.

talking with Lord Vere, that he intends to continue till you return to take possession ; and indeed I think he will *then* quit it with a much better grace than he would leave it with *now* ; besides that, in the mean time, he may make his continuance at the Board serve many good purposes of his own, and make as much a cipher of me as he pleases, which you will easily imagine must be very disagreeable to me, after the share the Duke of Bedford has allowed me in the direction of affairs afloat, and the success which has attended his Grace's administration of naval affairs in every branch of the department. Besides, I think the world will see me in a very disadvantageous light, and think me acting out of character.

“I don't mention this to place any difficulties in your Lordship's way, but that you may give me your advice and assistance, which I never stood more in need of than at present, for I had not the least idea that Lord Vere would continue when the Duke of Bedford left the Board, from many hints that he himself at times has let drop ; but the apprehensions of losing a shilling will quiet his resentment or his ambition. He has been in my way ever since I came into the world. Two years ago I endeavoured to shove him before me, but there was no moving him from the earth to his proper element ; and to continue now in his rear, both at land and sea, I own I cannot well endure.” *

His Lordship then proceeds, in the same letter, to relate the manner in which the new arrangement was brought about.

“It was not known that Lord Chesterfield intended to quit the seals, with any certainty, until the Thursday before

* Lord Sandwich's Collection.

it happened, when he declared he would resign on Saturday morning. The Duke of Newcastle had invited the Duke of Bedford and myself to dine with him upon the Thursday, when he announced what had passed between him and Lord Chesterfield, and that the king had declared he would not have your Lordship, nor Mr. Pitt, nor the solicitor-general, as secretary of state. What operations had occasioned this extraordinary declaration I am entirely ignorant; but some of your enemies had been busy at work: that the seals were not designed for you appeared clearly.

“I staid till the Duke of Bedford was gone, when, being left alone with the Duke of Newcastle, I told his Grace I thought you would have great reason to complain of all your friends, if you were passed by on this occasion, and therefore proposed, if you could not get the seals, that they should be given to the Duke of Bedford, and your Lordship to take his place at the Admiralty. He asked me, very earnestly, whether the Duke of Bedford had said anything to me upon it. I told him, ‘No.’ He then asked me if I thought the Duke of Bedford would accept the seals. I then declared that it was my opinion his Grace would decline no trouble, however disagreeable to him, that would serve you, and show the friendship he had for you.

“I was obliged, on account of my health, to go for Bath the next morning; but I thought it very proper in me to let the Duke of Bedford know all that had passed between the Duke of Newcastle and myself, and pressed him very earnestly not to suffer your opponents to triumph over you. So the affair stood when I left London, and the success of it cannot give you more pleasure than it has done me,—being, my dear Lord, &c. “ANSON.”*

* Lord Sandwich's Collection of MS. Letters.

On the 5th March Lord Sandwich writes thus to Lord Anson, from the Hague :—

“MY DEAR LORD—You will easily conceive my satisfaction on the receipt of the news contained in the last three mails from England. I am sensible how much I am obliged to your Lordship for the great weight of your friendship, and I readily perceive how much your support has contributed to make the way easy to the height of good fortune to which I am arrived, which I shall never forget to the last hour of my life.

“I have very little time to write by this post, but I would not lose a moment to desire that you would consider yourself as in effect at the head of the Admiralty ; that you would not only write to me your sentiments, as to any measures you would wish to have executed, and when my assistance is necessary, but that you would always make use of my name whenever it may be necessary ; and, if you would have anything deferred, desire time to write to me about it, and you may always depend upon the decision that you tell me is agreeable to your opinion. I must beg you will suffer everything I do to go through your hands, as it is my meaning to throw my share of the power, and the direction of the whole, as much as possible, into your hands.”*

This expression of unbounded confidence from the first lord of the Admiralty could not but be highly gratifying to Lord Anson, which is repeated, in still stronger terms, if possible, in the following extract from his reply to his lordship's letter of February 15th, sent from Aix-la-Chapelle, to which place he had

* Anson's Collection of MS. Letters, No. 369.

been removed to carry on the negotiations with the representatives of the several powers; and this will account for the delay in answering it.

“ Aix-la-Chapelle, March 19, 1748.

“I am sorry Lord Vere remains at the Board, if that is any way disagreeable to you; but I think that, so far from his being able to make a cipher of you, that you must put him absolutely in that situation himself. I always told you that, whenever I got to the head of the Admiralty, it should, except in the name and show of it, be the same thing as if you were there yourself; and I beg of you to consider my being there singly as an addition to your power. In one of my last letters to the Duke of Newcastle, I have told him that, in Admiralty business, he must consider you as one and the same thing with me, and that I intend to depend entirely upon your Lordship, and to throw the direction of the whole, as much as possible, into your hands; and the next time I write to Mr. Pelham I will say the same thing. As to Lord Vere's taking advantage of my absence to forward any of his purposes, if they are such as are disagreeable to you, it is very easy to prevent them, by desiring first to know my opinion; and if you choose to have anything done that you had rather not appear in, let me know it privately, and I will write directly to Corbett (the secretary) to recommend it, as from myself; but you may be assured I will do no act whatever but directly through your hands, which will plainly show people where the power centres, and, I think, indisputably fix you in the entire management of affairs, which has been always my view, as I am sure it is what is most for the advantage of the service.”*

* Anson's Collection of MS. Letters, No. 370.

Nothing could be more satisfactory to Lord Anson than this letter of Lord Sandwich; it set his mind at ease on the eve of a very important event to himself,—namely, his marriage with Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. Anson being one of those quiet plodding men who look only to their own particular occupations, and his hands being sufficiently full with Admiralty business, the Chancellor, having “been in the world” (in which the other was said never to have been), seems to have thought it right to remind him of two or three trifling matters, connected with his intended new situation in life, which might otherwise have escaped his notice or his recollection. To prevent, and also to correct, mistakes, he writes him the following rather curious letter, considering from whom it proceeds:—

“ Powis House, April 21st, 1748.

“MY DEAR LORD—I saw the Archbishop of Canterbury to-day, who expressed himself extremely concerned that he had not the pleasure of seeing your lordship when you did him the honour of calling upon him yesterday morning. I have desired the favour of his grace to be here on Monday at seven o’clock, and must desire that your lordship would be so good as to let me know the names of any of your friends, whom I should invite on that occasion. I find by Mr. Perkins that Saturday evening is fixed for the execution of the deeds, and hope eight o’clock will be a convenient hour for you. It is proper and usual that the trustees should be present, to execute at the same time; and I must beg the favour of your lordship to make the appointment with

my Lord Parker, my Lord Chief Baron, and your brother. The whole portion shall be paid either in bank-notes, or in my draft upon the Bank, as you like best.

“ I desired Mr. Perkins to mention to your lordship a mistake which the coach-painter has made in painting the arms, in which, I fear, he was misled by something that fell from my wife. I have inquired of the heralds, and also of the Duke of Dorset, who is very skilful in matters of that nature; and they all agree that, upon the marriage of the daughter of a peer of any rank, one of her father’s supporters is always put on the woman’s side, that is, the sinister side, of the scutcheon. This is the invariable usage; and if the lady’s father’s supporters differ, as mine do, then the dexter supporter is always taken. The consequence of this is, that I must entreat your lordship to give directions to the painter to turn the sinister supporter into the lion, which I bear, and at the same time ask your pardon for troubling you about such a trifle.

“ I am, with the most affectionate respect,

“ My dear lord, &c., HARDWICKE.”*

There is a great deal of honest and quiet simplicity in Anson’s reply, towards the end of a long letter on other subjects, to the congratulations of his friend Lord Sandwich. “ I shall say nothing of my marriage, because all people in that state, at first, think themselves extremely happy. I own I do, and therefore think I make you some sacrifice in staying so long in Holland as I intend; for I propose to make my visit *two days*, in which time you will hear all I have to say to you, and deliver me your com-

* Anson’s Collection of MS. letters, No. 186.

mands." And he goes on to say,—“ Indeed, you have almost brought the Admiralty to be a sinecure, for all our last orders are sent, so that there remains nothing but to dismantle our ships—a grievous affair to me, for I shall never live to see so well-disciplined and complete a squadron as we have to the westward.”* He did live, however, not only to see, but to exercise authority over, a far superior one, mainly of his own creating.

There is so much real and anxious parental feeling expressed in the following letter from the great and good Chancellor to Lord Anson, that no apology will be required for its insertion here, intimately connected as it is, though not officially, nor professionally, with the main subject of this Memoir.

“ Powis House, Aug. 30th, 1748.

“ MY DEAR LORD—After having so lately given your lordship the trouble of a letter, I should not have repeated it now, were it not for a piece of intelligence relating to dear Lady Anson, which we received on Sunday night from Wrest. It gives me and her mother much concern to hear that, when Mr. Yorke left her on Tuesday last, she had a feverish disorder upon her; and, though that was somewhat relieved by the account Mr. Anson was so kind as to send by Wednesday’s post, that she had no return of it, yet we cannot help being apprehensive that it might afterwards return, and prove an intermitting fever. Your lordship will excuse the trouble, which the anxiety of a father gives you, to be informed particularly how she now is; and it will

* Lord Sandwich’s Collection of MS. letters.

rejoice me much to hear good news of you both. I must beg a little more of your indulgence, which my knowledge of her from her childhood induces me to presume upon. She has great spirits, rather superior to her strength, and is always inclined to make the best of her case. It is therefore necessary on such occasions to look a little beyond her own representations, especially at this time, when she is certainly mortified at any interruption of the pleasure she had promised herself in attending your lordship at the Staffordshire diversions, and may be inclined to exert herself to partake of them, though at some hazard. I must therefore entreat your lordship to make use of your authority with her, as I should without scruple have done mine, to keep her from going to Lichfield races, in case she should not be perfectly recovered; or, if she should appear to be so, to prevail with her at least not to dance, and to redouble every caution, both as to hours and the avoiding taking cold. Any fresh cold caught, heating of her blood, or new flutter of spirits, may be of very bad consequence, especially as her constitution seems to have had a disposition that way for some months past. I know your lordship's good nature and regard for her will induce you to forgive this freedom, which proceeds not from the least imagination that all possible care would not be taken, but from a persuasion that you would like to be informed from those who have been longest acquainted with her, and also to be able to make use of my opinion and influence.

"My wife desires to second this advice, and joins in our most affectionate wishes to you both, and in best compliments to Mr. Anson and all friends.

"I am always, &c.

"Lord Anson."

"HARDWICKE.*"

* Anson's Collection of MS. letters, No. 188.

The important and harassing business on which a greater part of Lord Sandwich's time must have been occupied, the anxiety of mind perpetually preying upon him, not only to meet the wishes and views of his employers, but to give to the nation that satisfaction which, divided as parties were for peace and war, he could scarcely promise himself to be able to do:—surrounded, moreover, by spies and intriguers, watching every word that fell from his mouth, and every act of his life;—knowing, too, that he had the most jealous and suspicious minister to serve, and a sovereign that had taken a dislike to him, for having uttered, perhaps inconsiderately, an expression of slight towards one of the *little* potentates of Germany; notwithstanding all these drawbacks on his time and attention, it is but justice to say that his lordship's mind was constantly and deeply intent upon the concerns of the Admiralty. Almost every letter (and they are numerous) addressed to Lord Anson, contains something that regards the naval service. The following embraces an important suggestion, which, emanating from a very high, though not a naval, quarter, was so enforced on Anson's mind, that, at the proper time, he did not fail to bring it forward, and to carry it successfully into operation, in such a manner as to establish it on that permanent footing, which made it “impracticable for any ministry afterwards to change it”—it was the establishment of that excellent and most useful corps,

the Royal Marines, as it now stands, in lieu of those soldier-marines with which the fleet had hitherto been supplied.

“ Aix, August 7th, 1748.

“ MY DEAR LORD—I have received your two obliging letters, enclosing a plan for the present disposition of our fleet, which, I am sure, has my entire approbation, as every thing your lordship judges for the good of the service always will. It is unnecessary for me to trouble you with any recommendation of my friends, as I see you take the same care of them as if I myself was upon the spot.

“ You don’t tell me whether the marines are to be continued or not. I should think it will be proposed to break them, at least the greatest part. The Duke of Cumberland dropped something, when I was at the army, that makes me think so; and he added that one reason why he thought it would be right to do so was, that they were upon a bad footing, and neither sea nor land forces; that whenever they were appointed again, the establishment should be changed, and the marines be entirely in our jurisdiction. Would it be impossible to get that matter settled before the present regiments are broken? I should think that might be done, as the object of a few independent companies for the ships that are still to remain in pay would not be material; and if once you get the establishment (for however small a number it be) settled as you would have it, it will be impracticable for any ministry afterwards to change it. In things of this sort, the first step is in a manner the whole of the business, and an opportunity ought never to be lost; though I am far from saying, with any degree of certainty, whether an opportunity offers at present or not.”*

* Anson’s Collection of MS. letters, No. 382.

It will be obvious that the formation of a new establishment of this important nature would require, in the first instance, to be discussed in the cabinet; and, in the second place, to obtain the sanction of the king's order in council. Lord Anson, therefore, considering that the termination of the war was approaching, did not think the present moment favourable for augmenting the permanent establishment of a naval force, though he entirely concurred in the propriety of the measure. He had abundant reason to know the inefficiency of the present system; and with regard to the *breaking* the marine regiments, he submitted the proposition to Mr. Fox, then Secretary-at-War, and received from him an answer, of which the following is a copy:—

“ I believe that the preparing and signing of the warrants to break the marines is looked upon as a prerogative of the Admiralty of more consequence than I imagined. I assure your lordship that I have not any the least objection to it either in form or substance. And therefore recommending, for the sake of economy, despatch to your lordship, I beg leave to resign that task to the Admiralty, and to discharge myself of it.

“ I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

“ Holland House, 25th Oct. 1748.”

“ H. Fox.*

The peace being now concluded, Lord Anson had the satisfaction of knowing it from Lord Sandwich's letter to him of the 19th October, 1748.

* Anson's Collection of MS. letters, No. 164.

“ Give me leave to congratulate you, as I do most sincerely, upon the news that will be brought to England by our friend Leveson. I dare say it will please the public; and I know your partiality to me is such, that it will be an additional reason for you to think favourably of the work, by reason of the share I have had in it. I hope it will not be now many weeks before I shall have the happiness of seeing you, as I have leave to be in England by the meeting of Parliament. God knows it will be a happy day when I can once more sit down among my friends, and get a little respite from the hurry and confusion I have been concerned in for these three years past.”*

His lordship however did not take his seat at the Board till the early part of the year 1749, nor before his colleague, Lord Vere, had actually, in the absence of both Sandwich and Anson (the latter being engaged in conveying his Majesty to Holland), appointed a commander-in-chief to Barbadoes (Sir George Pococke), an appointment which was never intended to be made in time of peace. Lord Sandwich says, “ I am vexed at the account you give me of the nomination of the commander-in-chief at Barbadoes: there would be a certain way of preventing any such advantage being taken in your absence, if you were to desire that, whenever any such material commissions as those of commander-in-chief were to be disposed of, Mr. Corbett might be directed to write to me, to know whether I had any person to recom-

* Anson's Collection of MS. letters, No. 386.

mend ; in which case I should certainly mention, in answer, whomsoever you thought the fittest person. However, I hope this will soon be at an end, and that I shall have the happiness of being with you in a short time in England, where we will take care to settle things at the Board upon such a footing, as to leave no room there for anything to be done contrary to our inclination."* Lord Vere left the Board in the course of the year, and his place was supplied by Granville Leveson, Viscount Trentham.

This long war, with all the continental subsidies, increased the public debt by about seventy millions. The nation, however, was sufficiently tired of it, and became at last clamorous for peace ; and, though the main advantage gained to the country by the prosecution of it had been purely naval, and the result of it, that of reducing the fleets of France and Spain, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, notwithstanding, met with almost general approbation. The basis of that treaty was a mutual restitution of all conquests made since the beginning of the war, with a release of all prisoners without ransom.

The king, in his speech, on opening the session in November, 1748, says, " Whatever the events of war may have been, the bravery of my troops has distinguished itself, on every occasion, to their lasting honour ; and our signal successes at sea must ever be

* Anson's Collection of MS. letters, No. 387.

remembered, to the glory of the British fleet, and entitle it to the particular attention and support of this nation. You will further consider that those brave men who have served well by sea or land, and cannot now be employed, justly deserve to be the objects of your favour and protection." Though there was some slight opposition in the Commons to the address of thanks, it was carried, as originally moved for, without a division, and, in the Lords also, unanimously.

In the early part of 1749 Lord Sandwich took his seat at the Board; and one of his first measures was a visitation of all the dock-yards and other naval establishments, which, for many years before, had been entirely neglected. Indeed there is nothing on record to show that they had ever been officially visited by any preceding Board of Admiralty;* or even by the Commissioners of the Navy, under whose control they were more immediately placed: yet these establishments occasion the great portion of the expense annually voted by Parliament on the navy estimates. The object of this first visitation, by the proper and responsible authority, is fully stated in the following minute of the Board:—

* Sir Edward Hawke, in 1770 (then first lord of the Admiralty), being dissatisfied with the reports he received from the surveyor of the navy and the dock-yards, procured an Order in Council which directed that, in future, his Majesty's ships and dock-yards should be inspected by the Board of Admiralty once every two years—they are *now* visited annually.

“ Friday, 9th June, 1749.

“ Present—Earl of Sandwich, Lord Vere Beauclerc, Lord Anson, &c.

“ The Lords, taking into consideration the number of men borne in the several dock and rope-yards, the great expense attending the same, and that the works are not carried on with the expedition that might be expected from them, which must arise from the remissness of the officers or insufficiency of the workmen, or both, and being determined, as far as in them lies, to remedy the same, do judge it expedient forthwith to visit all his Majesty’s dock and rope-yards, to examine into the ability and conduct of the officers, the sufficiency of the workmen, the condition of the ships and magazines, together with what works are carrying on, that such reformation may be made as shall be found needful to prevent any unnecessary expenditure of the public money, to see that the several rules and orders for the government of the yards are duly carried into execution, that the ships of the royal navy be kept in constant condition for service, and that the money granted for keeping up the same be frugally expended, and that the comptroller of the navy do attend them in their visitation.”

In the minutes of their proceedings it appears, that they found the men generally idle, the officers ignorant, the stores ill arranged, abuses of all kinds overlooked, the timber ill assorted, that which was longest in store being undermost, the standing orders neglected, the ships in ordinary in a very dirty and bad condition, filled with women and children, and that the officers of the yard had not visited them, which it was their duty to do; that men were found, borne

and paid as officers, who had never done duty as such, for which their Lordships reprimanded the Navy Board through the comptroller; that the store-keeper's accounts were many years in arrear, and, what was most extraordinary, that the Navy Board had never required them; in short, gross negligence, irregularities, waste, and embezzlement were so palpable, that their Lordships ordered an advertisement to be set up in various parts of all the yards, offering encouragement and protection to such as should discover any misdemeanors, committed either by the officers or workmen, particularly in employing workmen or labourers on their private affairs, or any other abuse whatever.*

Everything, in short, appeared to be left to the resident commissioner, who, on his part, left all matters to the principal, and they to the inferior, officers. The members of the Navy Board seem to have given themselves no trouble about the dock-yards. Captain (afterwards Admiral) Savage Mostyn, the comptroller of the navy, must have felt himself in rather an awkward position while the inquiry was going on, and at the public notice above mentioned being stuck up in the yards. In future years, when Lord Sandwich was again First Lord of the Admiralty, he caused frequent visitations to be made, and left a record of them in the Admiralty-office, as an inducement for subsequent Boards to pursue the same

* Minutes of Lord Sandwich's Visitation.

practice, which was partially followed by Lord Howe, Lord Spencer, Lord St. Vincent, and is continued to the present time. From these visitations much good has resulted, many abuses have been corrected, and a vast expenditure of money and stores saved to the public.

The first business in the House of Commons, after the address of thanks on the King's speech, was a motion for papers relating to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which, after a long debate, was lost by 181 against 120. The next question that came before the two houses of Parliament was of the greatest importance to the army and navy ;—that of the Mutiny Bill, brought in by Mr. Fox, Secretary-at-War. Several new clauses were introduced which met with great opposition ; some of them were carried and others not. On this subject Horace Walpole indulges in a tirade of keen severity. “ When the Duke (of Cumberland) had set himself to restore the discipline of the army, and bring it nearer to the standard of German severity, he found it necessary to reform the military code, that whatever despotism he had a mind to establish might at least be grounded in an appearance of law. The Secretary-at-War, with a few general officers, were ordered to revise the Mutiny Bill, and (if one may judge by their execution of this commission) to double the rigour of it. The penalty of death came over as often as the curses in the Commination on Ash-Wednesday ; oaths of secrecy were imposed on courts-martial ; and even

officers on half-pay were for the future to be subject to all the jurisdiction of military law. My Lord Anson, who governed at the Admiralty Board, was struck with so amiable a pattern, and would have chained down his tars to a like oar; but it raised such a ferment in that boisterous profession, that the ministry were forced to drop several of the strongest articles, to quiet the tempest that this innovation had caused.”*

Walpole always exaggerates. The navy has no Mutiny Bill except for the marines on shore—a corps not then regularly established—and which, when they were so, is in accordance with that of the army. The discipline of the navy is maintained by various acts of Parliament; and Lord Sandwich and Lord Anson thought it the proper time, now that the war was at an end, to have them consolidated into one act (22 Geo. II.) by a bill which was brought into the Commons by Lord Barrington, a member of the Board of Admiralty. It was entitled “A Bill for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the Laws relating to the Navy,” a most desirable and highly useful measure, which has continued in full force to the present day, with an exception to be noticed presently. The principal, and indeed almost the only, novelties attempted to be introduced were, first, that of subjecting half-pay officers to courts-martial, which, after much oppo-

sition, and a debate which appears to have lasted ten or twelve days, was thrown out; the second was the administration of an oath of secrecy to the members, which was carried, and continues to the present time.

With regard to the "ferment in the boisterous profession," it exploded, if there was any "tempest" to "quiet," in a single petition, presented to the house by Sir John Norris, signed by three admirals and forty-seven captains, in which it was alleged that, if certain clauses were passed, they would greatly tend to the injury and dishonour of the petitioners and all other officers of his Majesty's navy, as also to the detriment of his Majesty's service. It was strongly contended in the Lords, that courts-martial should not have the power to inflict any punishment extending to life and limb—that mutiny even should be made liable to, and punishable by, the civil magistrate. This was a step far beyond that in the petition of the "three admirals and forty-seven captains," and speaks not much in favour of the good sense of the lords who espoused it.

The bill, on which the articles of war are founded, for the government of the navy, passed, and has not undergone any alteration in the last ninety years; with the exception of a modification of two articles, occasioned by the trial and execution of the unfortunate Admiral Byng. These articles, the twelfth and thirteenth, which inflict the penalty of death, were then and afterwards considered so severe that, thirty

years after the passing of the act, and twenty-two after Byng's execution, there was added, in the act of 19 Geo. III. (1779), after the word "death," the words, "or such other punishment as the nature and degree of the offence shall be found to deserve."

With regard to the "penalty of death coming over as often as the curses in the Commination on Ash-Wednesday," there is some appearance of truth as relates to the penal code of the navy, but they were not first introduced at the time in question. Of the thirty-six articles of war, nine award the punishment of death, unqualified by any species of commutation, and admitting of no mitigation; and twelve with "death," qualified by the words, "or such other punishment as the offence, by a court-martial, shall be judged to deserve." But, as happens in the civil code, the apparent severity is softened down in practice to a greater degree of leniency, than if a milder punishment had been awarded.

An opinion has sometimes been held by naval officers that, in those articles which award the punishment of death, "or such other punishment as the court shall deem the offence to deserve, or as a court-martial shall think fit to inflict," a sentence of transportation may be considered as included; but a moment's reflection will show that such a sentence would be perfectly illegal. At the time the act was passed, and until long after, there were no penal establishments in existence, and the act itself has undergone no alteration except that above mentioned;

the commutation, therefore, or a sentence of banishment, as the law now stands, would be illegal and of no effect. This was so decided by the law-officers of the crown in 1808, in the case of a court-martial on the officers and crew of the *Carnation*, for striking their colours to the enemy, and something like it has very recently been ruled.

As a state of peace is the best time for considering and maturing any plan that may be proposed for that most important object—the manning of the fleet—Lord Barrington submitted a motion to the House for leave to bring in a bill for providing seamen for his Majesty's navy, without distressing trade. His Lordship set out by endeavouring to show that we ought never, in time of peace, to have less than 20,000 able and expert seamen in pay for the service of the navy, but that it was not necessary to keep in commission as many ships as would require that number: the expedient thought of, he said, was to keep a less number than 20,000 in *full* pay, and give the rest such an allowance as should be thought proper; that the intention of his bill was only to have 3000 supernumeraries kept in pay for the next year, at the rate of 10*l.* per man per annum; for, as 17,000 were voted for the ensuing year, 3000 would just make up the 20,000; and, as these 3000 would only cost the nation 30,000*l.* a-year, instead of 156,000*l.*, the sum if these men were actually employed, he thought the expedient, which saves the nation 126,000*l.*

a-year, whilst it gives her 3000 seamen, was one that deserved the approbation of every gentleman who wished well to his country.

In this, however, his Lordship miscalculated. Lord Egmont was rather severe on this new expedient. "Sir, if one could be allowed, in this age, to borrow anything from the Bible, I should observe that, when the devil has a mind to deceive, he always puts on the appearance of an angel of light; so, when any scheme is formed for the introduction of arbitrary power, the projectors always assume the appearance of patriots, and affect a serious concern for the safety of the nation, or for the encouragement of our trade and navigation." He thought there was a secret design in the present project; that these 3000 men were meant as an addition to the number of the government slaves, and as a new number of pensioners, who were hereafter to be made use of for gaining an influence in the few remaining cities or boroughs, that still continue refractory to a minister's *congé d'élire*; "for," says his Lordship, "we may depend upon it, that no seaman will be admitted upon this pension, who has not a vote in some city or borough; and before a new war breaks out, unless it happens very soon, as it probably may, we shall find that, of these 3000 pensioners, there is not so much as one good seaman amongst them."

Old Horace Walpole (not the memoir-writer) said that, since and before he was a member of that

august assembly, he made this general observation, that, either our constitution, our church, or our liberties being in danger, was the constant cry of those who were disobliged by, and consequently opposed, the administration; but the cry, he said, at present, was so void of all foundation, that it was hardly possible to treat it in a serious manner. "I shall therefore," said he, "only tell you a story:—

"In King William's time, there was a famous member of this house, whom you have all heard of, John How by name, who, having been refused something which he had not, or, at least, which that wise prince thought he had not, any title to ask, took it into his head to set up for a patriot, and to become a violent opposer of the administration. From that time this gentleman's continual cry was, 'Our liberties are in danger, our constitution is to be overturned!' and with such exclamations he was always endeavouring, by his pretended fears, to raise real apprehensions in the minds of some of the weak men of that age. At last he was silenced by a story told to the House by Sir Thomas Lyttleton, which was this: 'A gentleman of my acquaintance,' says Sir Thomas, 'was lately travelling in a coach with two ladies who were sisters. One sat very quiet, without being in the least disturbed; but the other was, upon every little jolt, in a fright, and always crying out, 'O Lord, Sir, we shall be overturned! for God's sake tell the coachman to drive softly!'



‘What is the matter, Madam?’ says the gentleman; ‘why are you in such a fright? We have a firm, easy coach, a plain good road, and a careful, cautious coachman: there is not the least danger.’ But all signified nothing: the lady continued as before. At last the gentleman asks the other lady—‘What ails your sister, Madam? is she usually of such a fearful temper?’ To which the other answered, ‘Do not mind her, Sir; my sister is really in no fright, only she thinks she has a very pretty voice, and therefore takes great delight in hearing herself speak.’”

This story (not altogether inapplicable to the present time), Walpole said, put the zealous patriot so much out of countenance, that, for some days, he was quite silent as to the danger of our liberties. Lord Barrington’s motion was put an end to by the Speaker’s hinting to him, that, as money was to be granted, it ought to have been first resolved on in the committee of supply. And thus ended this singular “expedient.”

After this, very little occurred in either House of Parliament that could strictly be called Admiralty-business. The usual routine, in time of peace, consists in preserving the fleet in an efficient state, building and repairing ships, keeping up a due proportion of naval stores, seeing that those wharfs, jetties, docks, and slips be kept in order, which must always deteriorate in consequence of other and more pressing kind of labour being de-

manded pending a long war. In the midst of these ordinary proceedings an event took place, in June, 1751, which appears to have been wholly unexpected. This was nothing less than a partial change in the administration, which extended to the Board of Admiralty, and deprived it of the able assistance of Lord Sandwich; but placed, at the same time, Lord Anson at the head, with two new members, William Rowley, Esq., and the Hon. Edward Boscawen, in the room of Lord Sandwich and Granville Leveson Gower.

Horace Walpole, in his *Memoirs*, never omits an opportunity of venting his malice against Lord Sandwich, and this seems to have afforded him one. Whether the account he gives, absurd as it is, was the real cause of Lord Sandwich leaving the Admiralty, it would not now be easy to determine; but there is reason to believe it was not. "An incident," he says, "contributed to give to the King a new handle to use Lord Sandwich with indignity: the Bedfords had transacted a marriage between one of the duchess's sisters (Lady Elizabeth Leveson Gower) and Colonel Waldegrave, against the consent of her father, Lord Gower; and Lord Sandwich had been so imprudent as to let the ceremony be performed at his apartments at the Admiralty. The Pelhams, who always inoculated private quarrels on affairs of state, despatched my Lord Gower to ask a formal audience of the King, and complain of Lord Sand-

wich's contributing to steal his daughter. Lord Gower was a comely man of form, had never had any sense, and was now superannuated. . . . The King entered into his quarrel; and the Pelhams, by this artifice, detached him from his family, and persuaded him that to resign with them would be sacrificing himself in the cause of Lord Sandwich, who had offered him such an indignity.

“When Lord Sandwich found his disgrace unavoidable, and had even got intelligence of the day on which he was to be dismissed, he endeavoured by his own solicitations, and by the interposition of the Duke (of Cumberland) to prevail on the Duke of Bedford to throw up the seals first. This finesse, which did not succeed, was calculated to prevent the appearance of the Duke of Bedford's resignation upon his account, and consequently the new obligations to be laid upon him by that measure; governing that Duke no longer, he chose to be no longer connected with him; but Bedford now would neither stay in nor go out by his advice.

“On June 13th the Duke of Newcastle wrote to Lord Sandwich that the King had no further occasion for his services; and in the evening sent Mr. Legge to acquaint the Duke of Bedford with the dismissal of his friend. . . . Legge having shuffled for some time between Mr. Pelham, Pitt, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Sandwich, and wriggled through the interest of all into the Treasury, and then to the

treasurership of the navy, he submitted to break his connexions with the two latter, by being the indecent messenger of Lord Sandwich's disgrace. . . .

“The Duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the King, and, among other grievances, spoke warmly on the dismissal of his friend Lord Sandwich, and on all the treacheries of the Duke of Newcastle, which he recapitulated, and he concluded by telling the King that their (Pelham and his brother) persecutions of him and Lord Sandwich arose solely from their attachment to his son, the Duke (of Cumberland). The King was struck and pleased with this remonstrance; agreed to all he had said of the Duke of Newcastle; doubted of the facts charged on Mr. Pelham; and, with regard to Lord Sandwich, only said, ‘I don’t know how it is, but he has very few friends.’ ”*

The Duke of Bedford was offered by the King to be president of the council; but he declined, and resigned the seals. Lord Anson was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Admirals Boscawen and Rowley Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty—“the latter,” says Walpole, “attached to Lord Granville, the other to nothing but his own opinion.”

A great part of this is no doubt true; but whether the incident of the marriage had any connexion with

* Walpole's Memoirs.

the dismissal of Lord Sandwich is very doubtful—what should the King care about Lord Gower's daughter? It would appear rather to have been the sole contrivance of the Duke of Newcastle to accomplish the removal of the Duke of Bedford, which he had in vain striven for some months to effect through the Duchess of Yarmouth, who, with himself, was with the King at Hanover. He was afraid of moving the King directly, knowing how desirous he was to have about the throne the highest nobles of the land. The Duchess was to tell the King of the Duke's unfitness; that the Duke of Newcastle had declared he could not go on with him; that he did not transact any business—"it is all jollity, boyishness, and vanity: he persuades himself that riding post from London to Woburn and back again once a-week or fortnight is doing a great deal of business." The King, however, turned a deaf ear to all this; and, as the last resort, Newcastle made up his mind to ask the King himself to dismiss Sandwich, well knowing that the Duke of Bedford would follow his friend. All this and a great deal more of intrigue appears in the Duke of Newcastle's letters to his brother, Mr. Pelham, as published by Coxe.

No naval officer could have been chosen more fitted for the vacant situation than Lord Anson; he having, in fact, carried on the duties of first lord during the preceding five years. In point of talent and energy, he might perhaps be considered inferior

to Lord Sandwich, but by much his superior in professional knowledge and sound judgment in naval concerns, as frequently acknowledged by his lordship. As the name of this noble earl will no more appear in the course of this Memoir, it may be right to say that both Mr. Pitt and Lord North were so well satisfied of his fitness and great ability to fill the situation of First Lord of the Admiralty, that, in the reign of George III., he was twice appointed to the head of the naval administration ; and that on the second occasion he remained as First Lord of the Admiralty from the 12th of January, 1771, to the 30th of March, 1782, a period of more than eleven years.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

Vigorous preparations for war—Duplicity of the French—Establishment of a marine corps under the immediate command of the Admiralty—The late King's address to the marines—A fleet under Boscawen sent to America—French fleet puts to sea—Two of their ships taken by Howe and Andrews—Remonstrance of the French—Their ambassador recalled—A fleet prepared and placed under the command of Sir Edward Hawke—Duke of Cumberland and Anson visit the fleet—latter hoists his flag in the *Prince*—Discussion in the Cabinet as to Hawke's instructions—Copy of instructions from the Lords Justices—Sails and captures many of the enemy's ships—Secret information from the King at Hanover—Threats of invasion by the French—march down troops to the coast—Howe sent to protect Guernsey and Jersey—attacks and takes *Chaussé*—War at length proclaimed by England—then by France—Admiral Byng sent with a fleet for the relief of Minorca—engages *Galissonnière*, and retreats to Gibraltar—Public clamour against him—recalled—sent a prisoner to Greenwich Hospital—Change in the administration—Pamphlets for and against Byng—for, by Dr. Johnson, and against, by Mallet, assisted by Lord Hardwicke—is sent to Portsmouth—tried and condemned to death—Mistaken proceedings to obtain the King's mercy—Voltaire and Richlieu's letters—Opinion of the judges decides Byng's fate—His gallant behaviour previous to and at his execution—Inscription on his tomb.

1755 to 1756.

IN the year 1755 a feverish peace of seven years was succeeded by the commencement of a seven years' war, a name by which it is distinguished in the history of this country. No sooner had the King's message been brought before the two houses

of Parliament, stating the necessity of an augmentation of his forces by sea and land, and of taking such other measures as might best tend to the general peace of Europe, than the most vigorous preparations for war were set on foot. A number of ships were forthwith ordered to be put in commission, press-warrants, the certain precursors of hostilities, were issued, with the usual proclamation for granting bounties to volunteer seamen; and subscriptions were raised in most of the considerable towns and cities for bestowing premiums on such seamen and soldiers as would voluntarily enlist. In fact it was soon discovered that no more time was to be lost in making every preparation, as the French, with all their sincerity and professions of good faith, with every solemn assurance of no intention nor desire on their part to disturb the general peace of Europe, which had been so happily concluded, were actually strengthening themselves, in all their foreign possessions, and intriguing at home, to embroil us in hostilities. It was also well ascertained that ships were preparing and troops assembling ready to embark both at Brest and Rochfort. For some time past they had been making encroachments on our settlements of Nova Scotia, and various complaints of their conduct had reached England from that quarter.

In this state of things Lord Anson, bearing in mind the suggestion of the Duke of Cumberland, conveyed to him by Lord Sandwich in his letter from

Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 (already noticed in the preceding chapter), deemed the proper and convenient time to have now arrived, for placing, on a fixed and permanent establishment, a corps of marines to serve on board his Majesty's ships in lieu of those marine regiments which had been dismissed or broken, as it was termed, at the conclusion of the last war. It is unnecessary to add that the plan succeeded to admiration, and has undergone no essential change in the principle up to the present time.

His late Majesty, William IV., who was himself a good soldier as well as sailor, had the highest possible opinion of the good service of the corps of marines, whether employed by sea or land; and, on his visitations of the dock-yards and other naval establishments, he always had them out to be inspected by himself. His Majesty was known to possess an extraordinary recollection of naval and military events, and of many of the details and circumstances attending them. On one of his inspections of the royal marines at Woolwich, when Lord High Admiral, after complimenting the corps on their soldier-like appearance, and the correct manner in which they went through the various evolutions in the field, he said it was a great satisfaction to him to reflect that, on all occasions, the royal marines had particularly distinguished themselves, and on none more than on that which he would take the liberty to mention to them, and with which, probably, very few of the offi-

cers whom he was then addressing were acquainted. It was that of the capture of Gibraltar by Sir George Rooke, in 1704, to which 1800 marines, landed on the isthmus under the Prince of Hesse, mainly contributed; and who, after the capitulation, were left to garrison this important fortress. He further observed, as a remarkable circumstance, that, in the same Gazette (the 10th August, 1704) in which the capture of Gibraltar was announced, was also contained the first intimation of the victory gained by the Duke of Marlborough at the battle of Blenheim, comprised in a short epistle from the Duke, addressed "To my Lady Duchess, written on horseback with a lead pencil."*

The Lord High Admiral was quite correct as to the Gazette and the marines, wherein they are so called; but those who landed at, and afterwards garrisoned, that important fortress, were the soldier-marines, or regiments already spoken of, and placed in our ships of war, to be instructed in seamanship, to make use of the musket and bayonet in time of battle, and to assist in operations on shore. These kind of regiments were likewise considered to be, and a motion

* This note was brief, but to the purpose:—"I have not time to say more than to beg of you to present my humble duty to the Queen, and to let her Majesty know that her army has had a glorious victory; Monsieur Tollard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, Colonel Park, will give her Majesty an account of what has passed; I shall do it in a day or two by another more at large."—*Gazette*.

to that effect was made in Parliament, one of the means of manning the navy, by their becoming in a little time fond of the sea-service, and volunteering to serve as seamen. There were, however, serious objections to men of this description, who, on dismantling the fleet, or paying off a ship, were sent adrift, as being, according to the Duke of Cumberland's expression, "neither sea nor land forces."

Lord Anson therefore considered the time now come for placing the marines on a different and better footing; and, with this view, he matured a plan for the establishment of this excellent body of men as a separate corps, entirely distinct from the army, to act with the navy, when afloat, and to be regulated by a Marine Mutiny Act, when on shore, similar in its provisions to that for the army, and, like that, to be annually submitted to Parliament by the Admiralty; in whom all promotion was to rest, and by whom they were to be governed and distributed, being placed, as expressed in the King's Order in Council, "under the entire and immediate command of the Lord High Admiral."

This order, signed by the twenty-four Lords Justices at the Council Board, is dated 3rd April, 1755; it authorizes a corps of 5000 marines to be raised and formed into fifty companies, to which officers and non-commissioned officers are to be appointed from other corps, making in the whole 5700, to be established, as their head-quarters, at Portsmouth,

Plymouth, and Chatham. On the 20th November of the same year, as ships of war were brought forward for service, thirty additional companies were ordered to be raised ; and on the 7th July, 1756, to keep pace with the increasing strength of the navy, twenty more companies, making one hundred ; and again, on the 1st March, 1757, the navy still increasing, thirty more companies were added ; and on the 3rd March, 1759, they were still further augmented by one lieutenant, one serjeant, one corporal, one drummer, and twenty-three private men to each company, making, on the whole, a corps of about 18,000 marines.

The preparations for war went on rapidly. By the end of April the Admiralty had eleven sail-of-the-line, fully manned and equipped, which were put under the command of Admiral Boscawen, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. He repaired to Plymouth, where he received on board two regiments, and on the 27th April put to sea, with the intention of taking up a station near the southern point of Newfoundland for the purpose of watching the motions of the enemy, who, it was no longer doubted, had a squadron ready to proceed to that quarter. Scarcely, indeed, had he sailed when certain intelligence was received that a French fleet, consisting of twenty-five ships-of-the-line, besides frigates and transports with warlike stores on board, and four thousand regular troops under the command of Baron Dieskau, were on the eve of departure. Every exertion was made to get

ready and despatch Admiral Holbourne, with six sail-of-the-line and a frigate, to reinforce Boscawen.

Early in May the French fleet put to sea from Brest, under the command of Admiral Macnamara, who proceeded only as far as Scilly, and returned to Brest with nine sail-of-the-line, leaving the rest of the fleet under the orders of M. Bois de la Mothe. Boscawen had not been many days off Cape Race, the southern point of Newfoundland, when he was informed that the French fleet had separated, part having gone up the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the rest through the Straits of Belleisle, the thick fogs that prevail here having kept the former division from his sight, though it must have passed at no great distance from him. Two ships, however, that had parted from the French fleet in the fog, happened to fall in with Captain Howe of the Dunkirk and Captain Andrews of the Defiance, who were detached to look out for the enemy's squadron. One of these was the Alcide of 64 guns and 480 men, the other the Lys, pierced for 54 guns, but mounting only 22.

Captain Howe made for the Alcide; and when within pistol-shot, having hailed her, he requested that her commander would accompany him to the admiral, then in sight at no great distance. The French captain asked him if it was war. Howe repeated his request, having, it would seem, no positive orders from the admiral to attack. Boscawen, imagining that some parley was going on, threw out the signal to

engage. The decks of the Alcide were crowded with military officers, and among them were several ladies. Howe took off his hat and requested they would go below, as his orders were to fire; and, as soon as the decks were cleared of the non-combatants, he poured in a broadside, which was returned, but in a short time Captain Houquart struck his colours. The Lys also struck to Captain Andrews; she had eight companies of soldiers on board and about 8000*l.* in money.

The account of this action is given by Boscawen in a very vague and unsatisfactory manner, and Howe scarcely notices it in his log. It would also appear that the admiral's private account to Lord Anson was not more intelligible, for, having sent it to his father-in-law, the chancellor, he returned it with the following letter, quite in the doubting style of a lord chancellor: "I return your lordship a thousand thanks for the communication of the enclosed private letter from Mr. Boscawen. It gives me much concern that so little has been done, since anything has been done at all. I apprehend that only two French ships have been taken, namely, l'Alcide and the Lys; but to me the account is so confused that I cannot say I quite take the detail of it. I hope the public letter is more clear. What is become of the rest of the French men-of-war that sailed from Europe? for it seems to me the number that Boscawen met, together with those he saw in Louisburgh harbour, do by no means come up to the

number that went on to America when Macnamara left them." *

The capture of these two ships undoubtedly fell far short of what the public expected from the character of Boscawen, and the force he had with him ; and yet it was hailed with great joy, as the certain commencement of hostilities, and as an act that had fairly committed us with the perfidious government of France. When news of this action reached France, they affected great astonishment at so unexpected an event, complained loudly of the attack on their ships-of-war, as a breach of national faith, called us robbers and pirates ; and, after the usual ebullition of abuse, their ambassador, M. de Mirepoix, was recalled from London, and M. de Bussy from Hanover, where he had just arrived, to attend George II. in a public character. Yet no declaration of war was issued either on the part of France or England. An order, however, was given on our part to stop all French merchant-vessels, and bring them into port ; and it was extended to America. Still it was clear that, for some particular reason, the French were desirous of avoiding a war with England. Probably their system of encroachments on our North American settlements, and their grand plan of uniting Canada and the Mississippi by a line of forts, were not yet sufficiently in progress to secure them against attack.

* Anson's Collection.

The English government, however, were quite satisfied that the present position of the two countries could lead only to war; and eighteen sail-of-the-line were, by the extraordinary exertions of Anson and the officers selected by him, manned and fully equipped in a very short time, and placed under the orders of Sir Edward Hawke,* who put to sea towards the end of July, with the view of intercepting any French ships-of-war that might leave the ports of the Channel, or the squadron of Bois de la Mothe, should it return to Europe. It would appear, however, that England was still doubtful as to the line to be taken; for a discussion was held in the cabinet, as to the nature of the instructions to be given to Hawke. Lord Waldegrave says the ques-

* In the month of June, on the anniversary of the accession of George II., Anson went down to Portsmouth to inspect the fleet under Sir Edward Hawke, and hoisted his flag in the Prince, of ninety guns and 700 men, commanded by his friend Captain Saunders. In this ship a splendid entertainment was given, at which his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and great numbers of the nobility and gentry, with their ladies, were present. A letter of Lady Anson to the Marchioness Grey is so far valuable, as it leads us to infer in what a high state of discipline was that gallant commander's ship, which he had only commissioned in the preceding March. She says, "The whole passed *à merveille*; the admiration high (and *we* have the vanity to think, *just*). Our guest had seen *ships* before, indeed, but never till now saw a *fleet*; the condition of the ships—the discipline, men, officers, all so totally different, so military, &c., and, above all things, astonished at the *quietness* (a circumstance I have a notion to have heard was very different when *we* were on board Sir John Norris's ship) at the time of the dinner on board the Prince, where there must have been above twelve hundred people on board. No private house, the best ordered, could have been quieter."

tion was left to a select committee, and gives the following account of their proceedings. He tells us that "the preparatious for war and all military operations were chiefly conducted by the Duke of Cumberland, Fox, and Lord Anson. An affair just now came under their consideration, of the greatest importance. A powerful fleet was ready to sail under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, and the King trusted to his regency to prepare proper instructions. Was Hawke to have hostile orders? If hostile orders were given, must they be unlimited? Ought war to be declared when the fleet sailed, or were we to commence hostilities without any declaration? The Duke of Cumberland, naturally inclined to vigorous measures, seeing the nation impatient for war, it being also the general opinion that the enemy was yet unprepared, thought it advisable to strike the blow whilst our fury was at the greatest height: at the same time he was very sensible that, notwithstanding our very formidable fleet, we were not ourselves in such perfect readiness as many people imagined.

"On the other hand, the Duke of Newcastle, who was not fond of danger at a distance, and seldom grew bolder on its nearer approach, was for keeping off the storm as long as possible, and gave his opinion that Hawke should take a turn in the Channel, to exercise the fleet, without having any instructions whatsoever.

"The Chancellor had more courage than the Duke of Newcastle; but, agreeable to the common practice of the law, was against bringing the cause to an immediate decision.

"Lord Anson, as usual, said little; but, as an admiral, and first lord of the Admiralty, thought it became him to seem rather inclined to the spirited side of the question.

"After mature deliberation, it was resolved, *that Hawke should sail with hostile orders; but war was not to be declared.* Either extreme," continues Lord Waldegrave, "had been better than this compromise; for it was in our power to have remained quiet till we had been thoroughly prepared for action; or, if we were inclined to more vigorous measures, Hawke's departure might have been deferred a few days, the King might have been entreated to return to England, and war might have been immediately proclaimed on his Majesty's arrival.

"In which case, even our enemies must have allowed that we had acted fairly, and like men of spirit, who would not bear ill usage.

"Whereas, on the contrary, without previous notice, we at once commence hostilities; Hawke, in pursuance of orders, seizes every trading-vessel which has the misfortune to meet him; whereby a foundation is laid for much dispute and cavilling, perhaps, also, for a considerable retribution, if the war should prove unprosperous: and in the mean time we are called robbers and pirates.*"

* Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs.

Such was the situation of affairs in July, 1755, when Hawke sailed, under instructions signed by the Lords Justices, which directed him to intercept and bring into Portsmouth or Plymouth any ships of war or merchant-ships he may fall in with ; but, if he hears that the French have committed hostilities by their ships of war, or have commissioned privateers, he is then also to commit hostility against the French, to take, sink, destroy, &c.

Among the great number of merchant-ships and privateers that Sir Edward stopped and sent into port, he captured a French brig from Louisburgh, having a missionary on board, who had been very active in fomenting the disturbances in America, on which account a price had been set upon his head by the English. By this capture many important discoveries of the proceedings of the French, in that quarter, appeared from the papers which had been thrown overboard ; but which, by the weight attached to them having fallen off, were picked up by one of Sir Edward's ships. One great object of Hawke was to intercept a strong squadron of French ships of war that had been sent to the West India colonies in the early part of the year ; but this squadron having put into Cadiz, and there learned that the British fleet was looking out for it, that object was defeated, and Sir Edward Hawke returned to Spithead.

The command of a detachment of this fleet was now given to Admiral the Hon. John Byng, who hoisted

his flag on board the *Ramillies*, having under him Rear-Admiral West in the *Buckingham*. They sailed from Spithead on the 14th of October, and on the 14th November fell in with the *Espérance*, a French ship of seventy-four guns, which was attacked by the *Orford*, and afterwards by the *Revenge*, when she surrendered. She proved to be one of Perrier Salvert's squadron, commanded by the Comte de Bouvet, was returning from Louisburgh, and had only three hundred men on board, of whom thirty were killed, and nearly double that number wounded.

The *Espérance* being an old ship, and the weather becoming extremely boisterous, Admiral Byng, as soon as it moderated, withdrew her men, and set her on fire. The fleet returned to Spithead on the 21st November.

While matters thus remained in doubt and suspicion as to their issue, and no declaration of war promulgated on either side, Lord Anson received intelligence of the secret negotiations, carrying on by the French, from a quarter he perhaps least suspected. Having sent, as in duty bound, the state and disposition of the fleet to the King, who was then in Hanover, he received in return the following letter from Lord Holdernessee, secretary of state, then with his Majesty:—

“Hanover, August 3, 1755.

“MY DEAR LORD—I am greatly obliged to your Lordship for the honour of your letter of the 25th past, enclosing, for his Majesty's information, copies of the names, numbers,

and stations of his Majesty's ships at home, and under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, or under orders for other necessary services. The King has never deviated in his approbation of the wise measures taken by the Admiralty, under your Lordship's direction, and expressed himself particularly satisfied that every branch of service was now so well provided for by the attention and foresight of the Lords of the Admiralty.

“ I have the King's leave to acquaint your Lordship with some intelligence of consequence his Majesty has lately received: the first is, that the French are endeavouring to persuade the Danes to fit out a squadron, under pretence of covering their trade from the insults of the English; but in reality to protect French effects under Danish colours; whatever may be the reason of it, it is certain the Danes have augmented the ordinary number of their seamen. France has likewise been tempting the Swedes to enter into their maritime views; and, besides a proposal of the same sort with that made to Denmark, they are contracting in Sweden for vast quantities of timber and other materials for building ships, as also for guns of all sizes and sorts, both iron and brass. As soon as I learn any further particulars I shall not fail to send your Lordship notice; in the mean time you will please to acquaint Sir Thomas Robinson and the Duke of Newcastle with the substance of this letter. . . I ever am, &c. &c.

(Signed) “HOLDERNESSE.”*

When the court of Versailles had satisfied itself that England was not to be cajoled by their professions of a desire to come to an amicable arrangement; that the meaning of their courteous conduct towards Mr. Lyttleton, governor of South Carolina, who had

* Anson's Collection, No. 213.

been captured in his Majesty's ship Blandford, of 20 guns, by a French squadron, and both ship and governor ordered to be released, was well understood; when the French, in short, discovered that England was not to be duped, she changed her tone, and publicly gave out that, if England did not make proper satisfaction for the taking of his ships, the King of France would send, early next spring, an army of two hundred thousand men to invade the electorate of Hanover. Nay, they went beyond this, and caused it to be announced that the most vigorous exertions should immediately be put in practice, and the most ample preparations made, not only for the purpose of taking possession of his Majesty's electoral dominions, but, at the same time, for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland.

The British ministry took this threat as intended in good earnest, and issued a public notice that, in case the French attempted to make an hostile invasion of this country, the inhabitants should cause all horses, oxen, and cattle to be driven, and removed at least twenty miles from that part of the coast, where any such attempt should be made. The King's message, on the 23rd March, 1756, confirmed the notion of invasion entertained by his ministers. His Majesty informed the Lords that "the great preparation of land-forces, ships, artillery, and warlike stores, now notoriously making in the ports of France opposite to the British coast, together with the language held by the French

ministers in some foreign courts, left no room to doubt of such a design." It was supposed, however, by some, that the French were prompted to these threatening measures, from the supposed weakness of the British ministry, and the well-known timidity of the Duke of Newcastle, then at the head of it. It appeared they were right, and the effect, which the enemy had calculated upon, was soon obviously produced. The ministry did not disguise their alarm, the nation seemed panic-struck, and a general despondency prevailed. There was nothing wanting, however, to rouse the dormant spirit of the people but a formal declaration of war; and this was at length issued against France on the 18th May, and followed by a similar declaration, on the part of France, on the 18th June following.

In the mean time the French actually marched down troops to various ports in the Channel, were it only to show to England that their threat of invasion was in earnest; they made, at the same time, ostensible preparations for an invasion of Guernsey and Jersey. The British government sent reinforcements of troops to these islands, and the French abandoned the attempt. It was determined also that an expedition of ships and troops, on a small scale, should be sent to that part of the coast of France, to be employed in the protection of, and to give countenance as well as assistance to, those Channel islands; to harass the enemy's coast and trade; and to take possession of

Chaussée and its islets, on which was stationed an Irish brigade in the service of France. Lord Anson, ever watchful over the character and conduct of officers, selected Howe to be employed on this service, to which he was appointed in June, 1756. He hoisted a broad pendant in the Dunkirk frigate, and with seven smaller vessels under his orders, and four transports for the conveyance of troops, immediately put to sea. Having taken on board some troops at Jersey, he proceeded to the island of Chaussée, summoned the fort to surrender, which the commandant immediately complied with, on permission to be allowed to retire with military honours to Granville. To save the expense of putting the works in repair, and leaving a large garrison for its defence, Howe blew up the fortifications, and, finding that the French had moved off their troops towards Brest and the more western ports, and had abandoned any design they might have had on our Channel Islands, he returned to Plymouth, leaving part of his squadron to capture and annoy the enemy's coasting-trade.

Ample supplies were now granted by Parliament; 50,000 seamen, including 9000 marines, were voted; the greatest exertions were used in the dock-yards, and large bounties were offered for volunteer seamen. The army was considerably augmented, and a regiment, chiefly of foreigners, was raised to be sent to North America. But that which tended mostly to revive the spirit of the nation was the change of administration, that took place towards the end of November,

when the general dissatisfaction, loudly expressed against the existing ministers, was at its height, occasioned chiefly by for their not having taken timely steps to prevent the invasion of the island of Minorca, of the preparations for which at Toulon they had received early information. They had, it is true, sent Admiral Byng and Rear-Admiral West, with ten sail-of-the-line, part of the western squadron in the command of which both these flag-officers were, to the Mediterranean, which sailed from St. Helen's on the 10th April, 1756. The Admiral had been delayed just one month after receiving his appointment, on account of his ships being generally short of their complements of men. He complained, previous to his sailing, of his force being unequal to that of the enemy; but, as there was a small squadron under Captain Edgecumbe, already in the Mediterranean, which, when united with that from England, would make him equal, if not superior, to anything the French could have at sea in that quarter, it was not deemed necessary to increase it at home, where the alarm of invasion was still kept up by the ministers. Byng was ordered to call at Gibraltar for a detachment of troops equal to a battalion, for the relief of Minorca. The engineers there gave it as their opinion, that, "all circumstances considered, it would be extremely dangerous, if not impracticable, to throw succours into Fort St. Philip." Governor Fowke called a council of war, which resolved "that the sending such a detachment would evidently

weaken the garrison of Gibraltar, and be noways effectual to the relief of Minorca." But, as Mr. Edgcumbe's squadron had left its marines at Fort Philip, the governor gave 232 officers and privates to act as marines.

Byng wrote a complaining letter, of the 4th May, from Gibraltar to the Secretary of the Admiralty, almost anticipating defeat, from the superior strength of the French ships at Toulon; in this letter he says, "If I should fail in the relief of Port Mahon, I shall look on the security and protection of Gibraltar as my next object, and shall repair down here with my squadron." Being joined by the ships under Captain Edgcumbe, he sailed from Gibraltar on the 8th May; on the 19th got sight of Minorca; and on the 20th, the two fleets formed each their line of battle, the English having the weather-gage. As much has been said of the inferiority of the British force, it may be right, before proceeding further, to give their comparative strength, with the result of the action as to killed and wounded.

BRITISH LINE OF BATTLE.

(DIVISION.)—THE HON. J. BYNG, ADMIRAL.

	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.	Killed.	Wounded.*
Kingston . .	60	400	Capt. W. Parry . .	0	0
Deptford . .	50	300	— J. Amherst . .	0	0
Culloden . .	74	600	— W. Ward . .	0	0
Ramillies . .	90	750	{ Hon. J. Byng Capt. A. Gardiner }	0	0
Trident . . .	64	500	— Ph. Durell . .	0	0
Princess Louisa	60	400	— Hon. T. Noel . .	4	13
Revenge . .	64	500	— F. Cornwall . .	0	0

(DIVISION.)—TEMPLE WEST, ESQ., REAR-ADMIRAL.

	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.	Killed.	Wounded.
Intrepid . . .	64	500	Capt. J. Young . .	9	39
Captain . . .	64	500	— Ch. Catford . .	6	30
Buckingham . .	68	535	{ Rear-Adm. West } { Capt. Everitt }	3	7
Lancaster . . .	66	520	— Hon. G. Edgecumbe	1	14
Portland . . .	50	300	— P. Baird . . .	6	20
Defiance . . .	60	400	— T. Andrews . .	14	45
Total	834	6205		43	168

FRIGATES.

	Guns.	Men.
Chesterfield	40	250
Phoenix	20	160
Fortune	14	100
Experiment	20	160
Dolphin	20	160

FRENCH LINE OF BATTLE.

Foudroyant . . .	84	950	{ M. de Galissonnière, Lieut.-Gen. Capt. L'Aiguille }	2	10
Couronne . . .	74	800	{ M. de la Clue Capt. de Gabanous }	0	3
Le Redoutable . .	74	800	{ M. de Glendevés Capt. de Marionville }	12	39
Le Guerrier . . .	74	800	{ — Villar de la Brosse. }	0	43
Le Téméraire . .	74	800	{ — de Beaumont de Matré }	0	15
Le Triton . . .	64	600	— de Mercier . . .	8	14
Le Lion . . .	64	600	— de St. Aignan . .	2	7
Le Content . . .	64	600	{ — de Salien Gram- mont. }	5	19
Le Sage . . .	64	600	— de Revert . . .	0	8
L'Orphée . . .	64	600	— de Raimondis . .	10	9
Le Fier . . .	50	550	— de Hervillée . .	0	4
L'Hippopotame . .	50	550	— de Rochmere . .	2	10
Total	800	8250		41	181

	FRIGATES.	
	Guns.	Men.
La Junon	46	300
La Rose	32	250
La Gracieuse	42	250
La Topaze	28	250
La Nymphe	28	250

The French ships always have been, and still continue to be, better manned, as to numbers, than ours, and their metal is generally heavier; but the small disparity between the two fleets, above enumerated, is only just as much as a gallant English admiral would rather wish it to be than otherwise. The clamour therefore raised against the Admiralty, for sending out so inferior a force, was far beyond what it merited. The Admiral's account of the action is very long, and one of his complaints was that it had been garbled, and a great part of it omitted in the Gazette. That which explains the rencontre is as follows :—

“ As soon as I judged the rear of our fleet the length of their van, we tacked altogether, and immediately made the signal for the ships that led, to lead large, and for the Deptford to quit the line, that ours might become equal to theirs. At two I made the signal to engage: I found it was the surest method of ordering every ship to close down on the one that fell to their lot; and here I must express my great satisfaction at the very gallant manner in which the rear-admiral set the van the example, by instantly bearing down on the ship he was to engage with his second, and who occasioned one of the French ships to begin the en-

gement, which they did by raking ours as they went down. The *Intrepid*, unfortunately, in the very beginning, had her fore-topmast shot away; and, as that hung on her fore-top-sail, and backed it, he had no command of his ship, his fore-tack and all his braces being cut at the same time; so that he drove on the next ship to him (the *Revenge*), and obliged that and the ship a-head of me to throw all aback." [These were the *Princess Louisa* and *Trident*.] "This obliged me to do also for a few minutes, to avoid their falling on board me, though not before we had drove our adversary out of the line, who put before the wind, and had several shot fired at him from his own admiral. This not only caused the enemy's centre to be unattacked, but the rear-admiral's division to be uncovered for some little time. I sent and called to the ships ahead of me to make sail and go down on the enemy, and ordered the *Chesterfield* to lay by the *Intrepid*, and the *Deptford* to supply the *Intrepid*'s place. I found the enemy edged away constantly; and, as they went three feet to our one, they would never permit our closing with them, but took the advantage of destroying our rigging; for, though I closed the rear-admiral fast, I found I could not gain close to the enemy, whose van was fairly drove from their line; but their admiral was joining them, by bearing away."

This, it must be confessed, is not a very intelligible account, but it shows no want of nerve in Byng by detaching one of his ships from the line, because he had one more in number than the enemy; for, though the old fighting instructions very cavalierly enjoin this, yet it was always on the understanding that the combatants should be pretty nearly ship for ship, on an equality of strength, which was not the

case here. His order for each ship to bear down and engage her opponent is precisely what Howe did near forty years after, when this brave officer had brought his signals to that degree of perfection which enabled him at any time to change the order of the fleet, if found necessary; whereas it is clear that Byng, amidst that disaster which paralysed his own and the efforts of three other ships for a time, had no other means of making his communications than by calling in and despatching a frigate or frigates with verbal orders, which caused the delay, and thereby prevented him from "doing his utmost." It was owing to this short delay, and Admiral West's division having driven the enemy's opposing division out of the line, which gave to the French fleet the opportunity of making the best of their way unmolested into the harbour of Port Mahon;—and Fort Philip, after the determination of Byng to proceed with his fleet to Gibraltar, and a brave resistance, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The first intelligence that reached England of the failure of Byng's expedition was the copy of a letter from the Spanish minister at Paris to M. D'Abreu, the Spanish resident in England, which had been received from Galissonière, the French admiral; it stated that the English seemed unwilling to fight him; that the engagement had not been general, for the English kept *trop serrés*; that two or three English ships had sheered off; that night separated the fleets; that he (Galissonière) had lost thirty-

eight men, and had nine officers wounded ; that he had taken no English ship, but had prevented their throwing succours into Mahon ; that he had expected to have been attacked again the next day, but, to his great surprise, found the English had disappeared. It can scarcely be believed, if it was not an official and historical fact, that immediately, on the strength of this vapouring account from the enemy's admiral (for no other intelligence had reached England), the ministry despatched Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders in the *Antelope* frigate to supersede Admirals Byng and West, and to arrest and bring them prisoners to England. This feverish and unusual expedition was at once Byng's condemnation, and it had that effect on the public mind. In this frigate was also sent a little cargo of courage, as it was called, in the persons of Lord Tyrawley, the actual governor of Minorca, where he ought to have been on the first appearance of hostilities, and Lord Panmure to supersede General Fowke at Gibraltar.

Public indignation was roused at the receipt and publication of the letter of the French admiral ; but, on the arrival of Admiral Byng's own despatch, which, it is true, as he says, was garbled before it went to the *Gazette*, the rage of the people rose to the greatest height. Poor Byng was burnt in effigy in all the great towns ; his seat and park in Hertfordshire were assaulted by the mob, and with difficulty saved. The streets and shops swarmed with injurious ballads, libels, and caricature prints, in some of which was

mingled a little justice on the ministers, who were accused of neglect in not despatching a fleet sooner, and an inefficient one when they did. "But," says Walpole, "if the clamours of the people rose on the confirmation of this misfortune, so did the terrors of the administration. The very first effects of their fear showed that, if they had neglected Minorca, they were at least prepared to transfer the guilt to others. They descended even to advertise in the Gazette that orders were sent to every port to arrest Admiral Byng in case he should not have been met by Sir Edward Hawke. All the little attorneys on the circuit contributed to blow up the flame against the admiral, at the same time directing its light from the original criminals."

On the 26th July the prisoners arrived at Portsmouth. Admiral Byng was immediately committed to close confinement, and doomed suddenly to experience a most melancholy incident. His younger brother, who had hastened down to meet him, was so struck with the abuse he found wherever he passed, that he fell alarmingly ill on the first sight of the admiral, and died the following day in convulsions. "What a cruel star" (says Lady Torrington, his sister-in-law, in a private note from Southill) "presides over this family at present. Last Friday night an express came from Admiral Byng at Portsmouth, to acquaint me with the melancholy account of Col. E. Byng's

death, and to desire my leave for his body to be brought to Southill, and interred in the family vault. It is some consolation to hear the admiral makes not the least doubt but that he shall be able to show, that he has acted in every respect like an officer. It must have been a shocking incident to have his brother come to him on Wednesday and die on Thursday morning."

Byng, however, on recovering from this shock, expressed no other emotion but that of surprise at the rigorous reception he had met with, and persisted in declaring that he had beaten the French, and made them retire to their port. West, to whose gallantry Byng had testified, and which was generally reported, being left at large, proceeded to London, and was carried to court by Lord Anson. The King said to West, "I am glad to hear you have done your duty so well; I wish everybody else had." From Portsmouth Byng, strictly guarded, at once to secure him from the mob, and inflame their resentment, was transferred to Greenwich Hospital.* It would appear however that there was another motive, though a weak one, for his being so guarded. By a note in Lord Anson's writing, without date, without place, without address, evidently written in great haste, in answer to a question put to him (probably by Mr. Fox), it would appear they were apprehensive he might escape.—"Dear

* The brutal governor of the hospital, Townsend, on his arrival at night, caused him to be placed in one of the garrets, in an unfurnished chamber, save a deal table and a chair, the window barred with iron, and, it is said, an iron bar across the chimney, to prevent his escape.

Sir," writes Anson, " I am entirely of your opinion with regard to the securing Admiral Byng in the Tower, for I do think (from his former situation in the fleet) he might have a chance to escape, if he has any such intention. A letter is wrote to the Secretary of War for a strong guard to bring him to town from Portsmouth." Fowke, in the mean time, was tried by court-martial for disobedience of orders in refusing to send the regiment from Gibraltar, and his sentence was suspension for one year, for having *mistaken* his orders; but the mob and the ministers required a victim, and therefore Fowke was broken by order of the King.

Next came an address to the King from Dorsetshire, which was followed by others from seven or eight counties and great towns, demanding an inquiry into the loss of Minorca, and justice on the culpable. But the most dictatorial was that from the city of London, "to which," says Walpole, "the trembling ministers persuaded the King to pledge his royal word, that he would save no delinquent from justice,—a most inhuman pledge, and too religiously kept." Walpole further says, that "the Duke of Newcastle, with a volubility of timorous folly, when a deputation from the city had made representations to him against the admiral, blustered out, 'Oh, indeed, he shall be tried immediately, he shall be hanged directly.'" Newcastle was in the habit of uttering foolish things, but Walpole himself, or some of his city friends, must have said this for him.

A quarrel between Fox and Newcastle brought the ministry, already unpopular enough, into a tottering and precarious state. The quarrel was increased by a prevailing opinion that Mr. Pitt was likely to be taken into administration. But the King disliked Pitt for the same reason that he disliked Sandwich. He had not only spoken disrespectfully of Hanover, but opposed supplies for that country, which made the king say, "I am sure Pitt will not do my business." So unpopular, indeed, had the present ministry become, that Fox was clear-sighted enough to discover it could not stand much longer, and had therefore been laying his ground for a retreat, or at least for a change of situation. There is a note from him to Lord Anson, which must have caused the latter some little uneasiness, in guessing what was meant therein. It runs thus:—

"MY DEAR LORD—When can I see your lordship half an hour, to tell you a very unpleasant story, which I did not mention before, because I knew it would not please, and might embarrass you? I do assure your lordship I am in all situations as much at your service, and as affectionately so as any man in England.

"*Whitehall, Oct. 19, 1756.*" "Yours ever, H. Fox.

Lord Anson could not long be kept in the dark respecting this "very unpleasant story," even had he not seen Fox speedily. He would soon have been informed that Fox, the preceding day, had sought and obtained an audience of the King. "That

moment the King was sour, but endeavoured to keep his temper, yet made no concessions, no request to the *retiring* minister to stay." After a great deal of negotiation, scheming, and intriguing by those going out, as well as those who wished to come in, the ministers, finding matters grow worse, decided on retreating, and the Duke of Newcastle and the Chancellor resigned on the 19th November ; others soon followed, and the new appointments stood thus :—The Duke of Devonshire took the place of Newcastle, as First Lord of the Treasury ; the Great Seal was put in commission ; Mr. Pitt was Secretary of State in the room of Mr. Fox ; Mr. Legge Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Lord Temple, First Lord of the Admiralty ; and Admirals Boscawen, West, and Forbes, with Dr. Hay, Elliot, and Orby Hunter, Lords of the Admiralty.

The change of administration produced two parties, not only in Parliament, but in the country,—for and against Admiral Byng. The friends of the old ministers were clamorous against him, and those of the new ones equally so against their predecessors, for having sent him out with an inferior force,—for employing, on such an occasion, an untried admiral (whose cause they nevertheless affected to espouse),—and for their delay and gross neglect of sending succours to Minorca. The press readily caught the infection, and squibs and pamphlets were written on both sides. Among others, Doctor Johnson entered the lists. "The generosity," says Boswell, "with which he pleads the cause of Admiral Byng is highly

to the honour of his heart and spirit. Though Voltaire affects to be witty upon the fate of that unfortunate officer, observing that he was shot, '*pour encourager les autres,*' * the nation has long been satisfied that his life was sacrificed to the political fervour of the times." The acute editor of Boswell's "Life of Johnson" does not entirely agree to this. He says, "Nothing can be more unfounded than the assertion that Byng fell a martyr to *political party*. It is impossible to read the trial without being convinced that he had misconducted himself; and the extraordinary proceedings in both houses of Parliament subsequent to his trial, prove at once the zeal of his friends to invalidate the finding of the court-martial, and the absence of all reason for doing so. By a strange coincidence of circumstances, it happened that there was a total change of ministry between his condemnation and his death; so that one party presided at his trial, and another at his execution: there can be no stronger proof that he was not a political martyr."† If this were so, what sort of proof would such a circumstance furnish? But the fact is not quite as stated. The ministry was changed the 19th November, the trial commenced on the 28th December, the sentence (his condemnation) was not passed till the 27th January, and the execution took place on the

* Boswell is mistaken; the *wit* was meant as a satire upon the English people, not on the admiral's fate—a fate which *did encourage*, by rousing naval officers to a higher sense of responsibility, and to that spirit and enterprise, revived under an indignant feeling of the sacrifice made to popular clamour.

† Boswell says the sacrifice was to the "political fervour of the times."

14th March ; so that *one* party (the new ministry) presided at his trial, his condemnation, and his execution.

Mallet, who was said to be always ready at all kinds of work, whether verse or prose, took the other side of the question. "Johnson," says Boswell, "spoke of him with no great respect," called him "a beggarly Scotchman, ready for any dirty job," said "he had wrote against Byng at the instigation of the (old) ministry, and was equally ready to write for him, provided he found his account in it." In his 'Lives of the Poets,' however, Johnson is rather more gentle with Mallet. "In the beginning of the last war," he says, "when the nation was exasperated by ill success, he was employed to turn the public vengeance upon Byng, and wrote a letter of accusation under the character of a "*Plain Man*." The paper was with great industry circulated and dispersed ; and he, for his seasonable intervention, had a considerable pension bestowed upon him, which he retained to his death."

This is not probable : the party for whom he was writing, being out of office, were, consequently, out of power, and therefore had not the means of granting pensions. But he may not be far from the truth in his assertion about Mallet being employed by the old ministry. There is a letter of the ex-chancellor Hardwicke to Lord Anson, which connects him with Mallet and his pamphlet. It is as follows:—

“ *Wimpole, Oct. 10th, 1756.*

“ MY DEAR LORD—I have taken the opportunity of the Marquess of Rockingham’s doing me the honour of a visit, to return (by his servant) to Mr. Cleveland the *manuscript* of Mr. Mallet’s pamphlet. I had read it quite through, and, upon the whole, cannot find much fault with it, though I must own I am not much enamoured with it. But this *entre nous*, for authors of this kind must not be discouraged by too much criticism. However, I have ventured to put down in the enclosed sheet of paper some remarks and queries, which I desire your lordship will take the trouble to peruse, and to consider whether you think any of them improper, especially in what relates to maritime affairs and dispositions. Whatever you shall disapprove in this paper of mine, I desire you will strike out, and then deliver it to Mr. Cleveland, with my request to him to copy it over fair, and forthwith send such copy to Mr. Mallet, keeping my original. My reason (which I will tell your lordship) for taking this method is, that I am not fond of giving a handle to be named as a joint author with this gentleman ; but I have writ him a very civil letter, wherein I have informed him that he will very soon receive such a paper from Mr. Cleveland. I have also modestly suggested to him to add something further, by way of observation and argument, upon the points of conduct chiefly objected to, for in that part I suspect the performance to be chiefly deficient.

“ Ever yours,

“ HARDWICKE.”*

As an inquiry into the loss of Minorca was called for in the House of Commons, in which the conduct

* Anson’s Collection, No. 345.

of the Admiralty would be investigated, it was natural enough that Lord Hardwicke as former Lord Chancellor, and Anson as late First Lord of the Admiralty, should interest themselves in preparing for their justification. That they were busily so employed, appears from several letters of Lord Hardwicke. In one he says, the papers he has perused are long, "but they show the several intelligences and facts in a clear light, being divided methodically, and applied to the different questions; so that they appear to me to make a complete justification. But," he adds, "it is necessary that they should be carefully read over to your lordship, especially to have two or three things more fully explained relative to the *métier* of the Admiralty."

As the time for the debate on the inquiry approached, Lord Hardwicke thus writes, on 2nd February, to Lord Anson:—"As Mr. Townshend has given notice to make his motion the next week, and, I presume, will do so, if the gout and the frost will permit Mr. Pitt to come down, I take the liberty of reminding your lordship forthwith to consult with Mr. Cleveland about the answers to be given to any objections or observations that may be thrown out by our adversaries, as to the practicability of sending part of the western squadron to the Mediterranean in March last. 'Tis possible that they may not hit upon it; but it is necessary to be prepared with the proper answers."

It appears, however, that neither the gout nor the frost prevented Pitt from going down. "Pretending," says Walpole, "to wave the care of a broken constitution, when his country demanded his service, and, as a pledge of his sincerity in the scrutiny, he came to the discussion in all the apparatus of a theatric valetudinarian. The weather was unseasonably warm; yet he was dressed in an old coat and waistcoat of beaver, laced with gold; over that a red surtout, the right arm lined with fur, and appendant with many black ribands, to indicate his inability of drawing it over his right arm, which hung in a crape sling, but which, in the warmth of speaking, he drew out with unlucky activity, and brandished as usual; on his legs were riding stockings. In short, no aspiring Cardinal ever coughed for the Tiara with more specious debility. This mummery was covered over with candour; he acquiesced in every softening term proposed by the advocates of the late criminals; his justice shrunk behind the apprehensions of personality; moderation was the sole virtue of a censor. The loss of Minorca, he avowed, he meant to charge on the whole government; for the whole government could not be punished."*

The issue of this long threatened inquiry turned out, in fact, to be neither more nor less than a complete justification of the old ministry. Several

* Walpole's Memoirs.

resolutions were proposed, the drift of which was to show that the former ministers had grounds for believing in the threatened invasion of Great Britain, rather than a design on Minorca; and "the courtiers," says Walpole, "having, on the last day of the committee, moved a resolution that no greater force could have been sent to the Mediterranean under Mr. Byng, triumph itself blushed at so palpable a falsehood; and the victorious majority shrunk to seventy-eight, many retiring, and many of the more independent sort joining the minority; and," he adds, sneeringly, "the late cabinet, to their great disappointment, were forced to sit down contented, without receiving the thanks of the House of Commons for the loss of Minorca."

Thirteen years after this (in 1770), when the Spaniards attempted to bully this country, on the subject of the Falkland Islands, the great Lord Chatham, in his splendid speech on that occasion, said, "Consult the returns that were laid before Parliament in the year 1756. I was one of those who urged a Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the ministry. That ministry, my lords, in the midst of universal censure and reproach, had honour and virtue enough to promote the inquiry themselves. They scorned to evade it by the mean expedient of putting a previous question. Upon the strictest inquiry it appeared that the diligence they had used in sending a squadron to the Mediterranean, and in

their other naval preparations, was beyond all example."

Thus this part of the business was settled in favour of Anson and his colleagues; but not so the fate of the unhappy Byng. After a long and close confinement, under pretence that he might escape, a step which it was most unlikely he should ever have thought of attempting, he was brought before a court-martial assembled on board his Majesty's ship *St. George*, in Portsmouth harbour, on the 28th December, 1756, and held every day afterwards, Sundays excepted, till the 27th January, 1757, inclusive. The Court, consisting of Thomas Smith, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the Red, President, three rear-admirals, and nine captains, having agreed to thirty-seven resolutions, (the last five of which imputed blame to Admiral Byng,) by the fifth and final one, adjudged him to be shot to death. These five, being the most important, were as follow:—

" 33. Unanimously. The Court are of opinion that Admiral Byng did not do his utmost to relieve *St. Philip's Castle*, in the island of *Minorca*, then besieged by the forces of the French king.

" 34. Unanimously. The Court are of opinion that Admiral Byng, during the engagement between his Majesty's fleet under his command, and the fleet of the French king, on the 20th May last, did not do his utmost to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his Majesty's

ships as were engaged in fight with the French ships, which it was his duty to have assisted.

“ 35. Unanimously. It appears by the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, Captain Gardiner, and by other officers of the ship, who were near the person of the Admiral, that they did not perceive any backwardness in the Admiral during the action, or any marks of fear or confusion, either from his countenance or behaviour, but that he seemed to give his orders coolly and distinctly, and did not seem wanting in personal courage.

“ 36. Unanimously. Resolved, that the Admiral appears to fall under the following part of the 12th article of the Articles of War, to wit: ‘ Or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage; and to assist and relieve all and every of his Majesty’s ships which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve.’

“ 37. Resolved, as that article positively prescribes death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the Court, under any variation of circumstances, that he be adjudged to be shot to death at such time, and on board such ship as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall direct. But as it appears by the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, Captain Gardiner, and other officers of the ship, who were near the person of the Admiral, that they did not perceive any backwardness in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confusion, either from his countenance or behaviour, but that he seemed to give his orders coolly and distinctly, and did not seem wanting in personal courage, and, from other circumstances, the Court do not believe that his misconduct arose either from cowardice or disaffection; and do therefore unanimously

think it their duty most earnestly to recommend him as a proper object of mercy. The sentence was therefore drawn up and passed accordingly."

The Court, however, with a proper feeling of clemency towards the unfortunate prisoner, and as a relief to their own consciences, addressed a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, of which the following is a copy :—

" We, the underwritten, the president, and members of the court-martial, assembled for the trial of Admiral Byng, believe it unnecessary to inform your lordships that, in the whole course of this long trial, we have done our utmost endeavours to come at truths, and to do the strictest justice to our country and the prisoner; but we cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the 12th article of war, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment only, and, therefore, for our own conscience's sakes, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships in the most earnest manner to recommend him to his Majesty's clemency.

The only course for the Lords of the Admiralty to pursue was such as one might suppose could not have been mistaken; yet, unhappily, it was so. It might not have occurred to Lord Temple, or the other new lords of the Admiralty, but it ought not to have been overlooked by Boscawen, who, having had a seat at Anson's Board, and continuing

under Temple, ought to have known the usual course of proceeding. The sentence pronounced on Admiral Byng was not from a conviction of its justice, but one that inevitable necessity compelled the Court to give; and all that remained for them to do, under such unhappy circumstances, and what they did, was to endeavour to palliate that sentence by entreating their lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to the *mercy* of his Majesty. Such a recommendation, from such a quarter, is seldom disregarded, and, when supported by the Admiralty to the throne, never. There was indeed one instance, a few years back, in which the sovereign resisted the recommendation of the Lords of the Admiralty to commute the sentence of death for one of transportation for life; but, on its being represented to him, by his ministers, that a refusal of the royal clemency in such a case was unusual, and would be highly unpopular, he immediately signed the submission for mercy. But the Admiralty, in the case of Byng, did not proceed in this manner. They wrote a long letter to the King, enclosing a copy of the charge delivered to Admiral Byng, of the thirty-seven resolutions of the court-martial, and of the sentence, with various other documents; and they stated to his Majesty, "that doubts having arisen with regard to the legality of the sentence, particularly whether the crime of negligence, which is not expressed in any part of the proceedings, can, in this case, be supplied

by implication ; we find ourselves obliged most humbly to beseech your Majesty that the opinion of the judges may be taken whether the said sentence is legal."

This unfortunate step, quite unprecedented, but taken with the best intentions, was unquestionably the cause of the admiral undergoing the extreme sentence of the law. The court-martial expressed no doubts of the legality of the sentence ; they never once hinted at the "crime of negligence;" their only and earnest request was, that, feeling the severity of a sentence which they were compelled to give, their lordships should recommend the prisoner to mercy. But in the application of the Lords of the Admiralty to the King, the royal prerogative of mercy was never once alluded to ; and all that his Majesty was requested to do, was to submit the case to the twelve judges, whether the sentence was legal.

It is difficult to conceive why the Lords of the Admiralty should have had the least doubt as to its legality, or why they adverted to the word "negligence," which, as they themselves say, was not expressed in any part of the proceedings. Being fully acquitted of cowardice and backwardness, there remained only "not doing his utmost," and for that he was condemned to suffer death. And why did he not do his utmost ? The Court itself has answered the question in their twenty-fifth resolution. "Unanimously. The Court are of opinion, that while the *Ramillies* was firing, in

going down, the Trident, and ships immediately or ahead of the Ramillies, proved an *impediment* to the Ramillies *continuing to go down*." This impediment is fully admitted in Resolutions. 22, 23, and 24, and stated as matters of fact. Here then was an opening for a very different sentence. By an accident over which the admiral had no control, he was *delayed* in getting down close to the enemy, and, in the mean time, as the enemy had moved off, he was therefore prevented from "doing his utmost;" and if, by some mistake or mismanagement, the delay was prolonged a few minutes; humanity, if no other motive, might have construed it into an error of judgment, and thus have saved his life; and this line would probably have been taken, had not the Court fully relied on the efficiency of their earnest recommendation.

The letter from the Admiralty to the King was dated the 9th February; on the 16th the King's Order in Council, with a copy of the opinion of the twelve judges, dated the 14th of that month, was transmitted to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. It was briefly this—"We have considered the said sentence, together with the 12th article therein referred to, and are unanimously of opinion that it is a legal sentence." Signed by the twelve judges.

This put an end to all further application to the King from the Lords of the Admiralty, and they were left to the full benefit of their doubts by the judges,

who did not condescend to answer the question, whether, in this case, the "crime of negligence" could be supplied by implication?

On the same day, the 16th February, Lord Temple, George Hay, Thomas Orby Hunter, and Gilbert Elliot, signed a warrant for carrying the sentence on Admiral Byng into execution on the 28th February. Admiral Forbes peremptorily refused to sign it. A strong impression was created in the minds of naval officers of the cruelty of the sentence. Admiral West loudly demanded a revision of the 12th article; and though he said he would not decline immediate service, to which he was appointed, he declared his resolution of resigning unless that article was abrogated. Mr. Pitt reprobated the 12th article for its unjust severity; he called it the *mortal* 12th article; and yet it had its defenders in the House of Commons, and was only mitigated twenty-two years afterwards,* by the addition, after the word "death,"—"or to *inflict such other punishment as the nature and degree of the offence shall be found to deserve.*"

An unfortunate series of blunders seem to have attended the case of poor Byng. There is one of no mean importance, which, however, appears to have been wholly overlooked or disregarded; at least it was never once adverted to. His court-martial was composed wholly of officers who were not only junior to

* By 19 Geo. III.

himself, but of inferior rank. A full admiral, now-a-days, would remonstrate on having a vice-admiral as president of his court-martial: there is no law against it, but custom, strong as law, gives him a right to expect one of a rank at least equal to his own. Everybody knows there is no such thing as packing a naval court-martial, but the Lords of the Admiralty can, and do, address their warrant for trial to whomsoever they please, taking care he be of a proper rank. Thus, on the trial of Admiral Cornwallis, Lord Howe was ordered from his residence on shore.*

“While Mr. Byng,” says Walpole, “was thus pursued or given up by his countrymen, our enemies acted a very different part. Voltaire, hearing of the admiral’s trial, sent from Switzerland to the court-martial a letter which he had casually received some time before from Marshal Richlieu, in which the latter spoke with encomiums on the behaviour of the

* In the case of Byng no such care was taken. Mr. Smith, the second in command, may have been, and is represented as, a good man; but the miserable figure he made before the Lords shows him to have been a weak man, and one unfit to preside on so important a trial, the issue of which was life or death. Every one knows the value of an able and sensible president to guide the inferior members rightly, which Smith was obviously not the man to do. It is true there happened to be but a scanty choice of admirals at the time. Sir William Rowley was objectionable as having been one of the Lords of the Admiralty when Byng was appointed; and Isaac Townsend was equally objectionable, as the goaler of Byng and governor of Greenwich Hospital; there remained then but Admiral James Stewart, admiral of the fleet, the Hon. Geo. Clinton, and Wm. Martin.

English commander; but they who had been so ready to censure Mr. Byng on the despatch of his antagonist, La Galissonnière, were far from being equally forward to give any weight to Richlieu's testimonial in his favour."

That copies of these documents fell into the hands of those who were by no means friendly to Byng, the following letter of Lord Hardwicke clearly proves. It is dated the 26th January, when the court-martial was still sitting:—

"I return your Lordship the enclosed most extraordinary papers, lest, for want of other copies, you should want them. If you have other copies, I beg they may be returned, for they are curiosities. I look upon the paper, called Maréchal Richlieu's letter, not to be a copy, but an extract only. It begins abruptly, and, if the beginning had been added, it would have appeared to be an answer to something, and to have been solicited, as it certainly was. The words *Je vous assure* have the air of an *answer*. I beg your Lordship would get two facts ascertained—1. Whether these letters were shown to the King before they were sent back to Portsmouth? 2. Whether these letters were sent back to the president of the court-martial open, so that he might read them and show them; or sent to him sealed up, directed to Mr. Byng, and only to be delivered to him?"*

This is ingenious on the part of the late lord chancellor; but, whatever the case may have been, it is certain that Mr. Byng derived no benefit from this act of generosity on the part of an enemy.

* Anson's Collection, No. 195.

The following are copies of the letters in question. That from Voltaire was written in English:—

“ Aux Delices, près de Genève.

“SIR—Though I am almost unknown to you, I think 'tis my duty to send you the copy of the letter which I have just received from the Marishal Duke of Richlieu: honour, humanity, and equity order me to convey it into your hands. This noble and unexpected testimony from one of the most candid as well as the most generous of my countrymen, makes me presume your judges will do you the same justice. I am, with respect, Sir, &c.

“VOLTAIRE.

“To the Hon. J. Byng, Esq.”

Enclosed with this was the following:—

“SIR—I am very sensibly concerned for Admiral Byng; I do assure you, whatever I have seen or heard of him does him honour. After having done all that man could reasonably expect from him, he ought not to be censured for suffering a defeat. When two commanders contend for victory, though both are equally men of honour, yet one must necessarily be worsted; and there is nothing against Mr. Byng but his being worsted; for his whole conduct was that of an able seaman, and is justly worthy of admiration. The strength of the two fleets was *at least* equal; the English had thirteen ships and we twelve, *much better furnished and much cleaner*. Fortune, that presides over all battles, and especially those that are fought at sea, was more favourable to us than to our adversaries, by sending our balls into their ships with greater execution. I am persuaded, and it is the generally received opinion, that, if the English had obstinately

continued the engagement, their whole fleet would have been destroyed.

“In short, there can be no higher act of injustice than what is now attempted against Admiral Byng, and all men of honour, and all gentlemen of the army, are particularly interested in the event.

“RICH LIEU.”

[Under which is the following note of Voltaire.]

“I received this original letter from Marishal D. de Rich-lieu the 1st January, 1757, in witness of which I have signed my name.

“VOLTAIRE.”

Two questions naturally occur on the perusal of these letters; the first is—how came Lord Anson to get possession of the originals or copies of these letters? the second—did they ever reach Mr. Byng? It is surmised, in one of the numerous publications at the time, that they were intercepted and opened by Lord Holderness. They do not, however, appear either in the Secretary of State’s or in the State Paper Offices. With regard to the second question, did they ever reach the person to whom they were addressed? the probability is, they did not. If they had, something would have been said of them in the course of the trial. They are not found in any of the papers in the Byng family.

On the day after the condemnation, Mr. Orby Hunter notified to the House of Commons the sentence pronounced against one of its members. The Speaker produced a multitude of precedents for

expelling a criminal before execution, lest his disgrace should reflect on the House. This occasioned a debate, in which it was strongly recommended that an application should be made to the throne for mercy. Mr. Pitt was in favour of that measure; mentioned with disdain anonymous letters that he had received, threatening him as a favourer of Mr. Byng. Mr. Fox, as one of the old ministry, took a less amiable part.

It is unnecessary now to go into the long debates in consequence of Captain Keppel's application in behalf of himself and some other members of the court-martial, to be released from the oath of secrecy which they had taken, representing that the sentence of death laid heavily on their consciences. On the 26th, Pitt waited on the King, who sent down a message to the Commons to say, that his Majesty had respited the sentence, until he should be informed what it was, that the member had declared he had of weight to say, and which it was proper his Majesty should know. After much debating, a bill was brought in to release the members of the court-martial from their oaths, which was carried by 153 against 23.

On the 1st March it was sent to the Lords, where, on all occasions, matters are more gravely and temperately discussed, and inquired into in a more business-like manner than in the Commons. They commenced by a resolution to examine the members of the court-martial, by putting certain questions to each

separately, the purport of which was—"Whether they knew any matter, previous to the sentence, which would show it to be unjust, or procured by any unlawful means? and whether they thought themselves restrained by their oath from disclosing such matter?" In short it appeared that not one of them, not even Keppel, the original mover, had any desire for the bill, which was of course rejected with some expressions of indignation, and after some cutting reflections on the House of Commons.

After such a termination the friends of Byng could no longer hope for any mercy. The strange conduct of the members of the court-martial served only to strengthen the validity of their sentence, to nullify their earnest recommendation for mercy, and to exclude all further solicitation of the King for pardon. The 14th March was the day appointed for execution; and when the fatal morning arrived it was met by the admiral with more of cheerfulness than reluctance. For more than seven months he had suffered all manner of indignities, close imprisonment, protracted anxiety, and the doubtful issue of life or death. Now that his fate was decided, he received it with calm and dignified composure. Of his approaching death he talked with indifference, and frequently said he would not suffer a handkerchief over his face, that it might be seen whether he betrayed any symptom of fear; and when the moment arrived he adhered to his purpose.

"He took an easy leave of his friends, detained

the officers not a moment, went directly to the deck, and placed himself in a chair with neither ceremony nor lightness. Some of the more humane officers represented to him that his face being uncovered might throw reluctance into the executioners, and besought him to suffer a handkerchief. He replied, with the same unconcern, 'If it will frighten *them*, let it be done: they would not frighten *me*.' His eyes were bound, and he fell at once."

Lord Holland, the editor of Walpole's *Memoirs*, gives in a note the following interesting account of the execution, which, he says, is from the author's private correspondence in MS.—"*March 17, 1757.*—Admiral Byng's tragedy was completed on Monday—a perfect tragedy; for there were variety of incidents,—villany, murder, and a hero. His sufferings, persecutions, aspersions, disturbances,—nay, the revolutions of his fate,—had not in the least unlinged his mind; his whole behaviour was natural and firm. A few days before, one of his friends standing by him said, 'Which of us is tallest?' He replied, 'Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man come and measure me for my coffin.' He said, that, being acquitted of cowardice, and being persuaded, on the coolest reflection, that he had acted for the best, and should act so again, he was not unwilling to suffer. He desired to be shot on the quarter-deck, not where common malefactors are;—came out at twelve—sat down in a chair, for

he would not kneel, and refused to have his face covered, that his countenance might show whether he feared death ; but, being told it might frighten his executioners, he submitted—gave the signal at once—received one shot through the head, another through the heart, and fell.”

Thus died a martyr to public clamour, excited by a timid ministry, and to one false step taken by the party who professed to be, and actually meant to be, friendly to him ; whose death can be considered in no other light than as a judicial murder. On a monumental tablet over the vault belonging to the Torrington family, in the church of Southill, in Bedfordshire, is the following inscription :—

TO THE PERPETUAL DISGRACE
OF PUBLIC JUSTICE,
THE HONOURABLE JOHN BYNG,
ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE,
FELL A MARTYR TO POLITICAL PERSECUTION,
MARCH 14, IN THE YEAR 1757,
AT A TIME
WHEN BRAVERY AND LOYALTY WERE INSUFFICIENT
SECURITIES FOR THE LIFE AND HONOUR
OF A NAVAL OFFICER.

CHAPTER VII.

EXPEDITIONS TO THE COAST OF FRANCE.

Resignation of the ministers—The King for two or three months his own minister—Various applications—One made to Anson—Lord Hardwicke's advice upon it—Various parties applied to—Duke of Newcastle, Fox, Lord Mansfield, Lord Waldegrave—The King's observations to the latter—Lord Hardwicke sent for—Succeeds, and relates his proceedings to Lord Anson—Commanders appointed to the Channel fleet—Mr. Pitt's plans of annoying the French coasts—First expedition against Rochefort fails—Boscawen sent to North America—Retakes Louisburgh and Cape Breton—Sir Edward Hawke defeats an intended expedition of the enemy—Several expeditions against the French coast—Lord Anson hoists his flag, and takes command of the grand fleet—Howe and the Duke of Marlborough's proceedings against St. Maloes—Third expedition—Destruction of Cherbourg—Fourth expedition—Disastrous result at the bay of St. Cus—Brilliant single actions.

1757 to 1758.

IN the early part of the year 1757 the war was about to recommence on the continent of Europe. The French had made an irruption into Germany, and threatened Hanover. The Duke of Cumberland was entreated by the King to try his fortune once more on that broad field; but he disliked to be in any shape under the control of Mr. Pitt, who would never suffer himself to be controlled. The Duke of Newcastle, the most unhappy man in the world when not breathing the air of St. James's, assumed this

dislike as a fair ground to intrigue with Fox for the dismissal of Pitt; but the latter stood too firmly rooted in popular estimation, both out of doors and in Parliament, to be easily removed. However, both he and the ministry, shortly after this, either resigned or were dismissed; and, "as if to show," says Walpole, "how long a great nation can carry on itself without any government, there were no ministers, even amidst a formidable war, but those baby politicians, the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Holderness."

It required not the assistance even of those "baby politicians" to enable Great Britain "to carry on itself." This wonderful and well-organised machine, the British Constitution, in ordinary times and under ordinary circumstances, moves on without the necessity of the constant superintending care of any ministry; its wheels and springs are so well adapted, its movements so well adjusted, that, if left to itself, there is no danger of its stopping: it is damaged only when some experimental bungler, under pretence of improving it, undertakes to introduce some new movement that does not fit, or the displacement of some old one, which was essential to its regularity. But as the most perfect machinery, like all other complicated bodies, is subject to the wear and tear of time, so the British constitution may occasionally require the repair of some of its parts, which, however, is not to be intrusted to any rude and inexperienced hand that may offer itself.

The King, for two or three months, appears to have been his own minister. Lord Mansfield as the Chief Commissioner of the Great Seal, and Legge the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were the moving powers, and were for some time engaged in their endeavours to form an administration. Among others, Lord Anson had been applied to, indirectly, and submitted, as he was wont to do, the overture he had received from Legge to his father-in-law, Lord Hardwicke, who sent him in return the following letter :—

“ *Wimpole, April 9th, 1757.*

“ MY DEAR LORD—I think myself much honoured by your confidential and material letter of yesterday; for such I was sure it must be upon opening it, since nothing else could have drawn so much writing from your lordship. You have stated the case very clearly, and I apprehend no difficulty in the only part which your lordship can take upon the overture that has been made to you. But I cannot help being a little diverted at their having found out their *great mistake* at last; which, to me, who confess myself but a poor politician, was as obvious in theory, when they committed it, as it is now in the event. This made me say those last words to Mr. Pitt, with which I left him,—‘ *that, as he was disposed to come into the king’s service, and, as a man of sense, if he wished the end, must naturally wish the means, why would he then make it impracticable?*’ And impracticable he has found it in five months’ time. It is also diverting to see them casting the blame upon one another; but I believe there is some truth in what Mr. Legge insinuated to your lordship, that it was

principally owing to the visionary notions of Mr. Pitt; and I think those visionary notions much consisted in the support with which he had flattered himself from the Tories. But an opportunity, like time, when once lost, cannot be recalled; and the question is, what ought to be done, and can be done in the present circumstances? Charles,* who came hither last night, tells me that Dr. Warburton called upon him on Wednesday, and talked the like style, though without any higher authority than Mr. Potter. The Duke of Newcastle, from whom I had a despatch this morning by a messenger, informs me that he has had a letter from Lord Halifax, representing, in very strong terms, the like overture from Mr. Legge, as has been made to your lordship. His grace is embarrassed what to do upon it, and asks my advice. I own the case is difficult and delicate. The King is certainly angry with him at present for not joining in this hopeful new scheme, to which there were a thousand objections. His Majesty also suspects him of being in some kind of negotiation with Mr. Pitt and Leicester-House, for which I am sure there is no ground; and he has assured the King by a private channel that he is in no such negotiation, nor would be in any without his Majesty's privity. But such assurances restrain nobody from hearing; and I think he is at present inclined to see Legge in such a manner as may be most secure against transpiring; and I shall, in my answer, encourage him to it. I shall at the same time acquaint his grace with as much as is proper of your lordship's letter; for I see no use in making a secret of your having communicated it to me, and it will have the greater appearance of openness. I therefore approve entirely of your lordship's thought of going over

* The Lord Chancellor's son.

to Claremont, and acquainting the duke with the whole that was said to you, which, I am sure, he will take very kindly; and this is all which you need do, without going farther, unless he asks any opinion, or desires you to send, or give some answer to Mr. Legge.

“ The whole plan of the new administration is manifestly the creation of Mr. Fox, and, I am credibly informed, is extremely unpopular in the city. Lord Egremont is, I know, talked of for Secretary of State. He is a man of sense, but that adds no strength in the House of Commons; and the hastening his going out of town does not look like a present disposition to accept.

“ One of the most remarkable parts of your letter is the discourse which your lordship heard from some of the duke’s (Cumberland) servants. It will be a curious addition to the extraordinary events of the times, if, after the immediate necessity of the duke’s journey has been made the pretence for accelerating this change, his Highness should not go at all. I have no notion of any difficulty in getting to the German army; but if there are difficulties in forming it, I mean in making it strong enough, one of the first mill-stones which this new ministry must take about their necks must be to make it stronger.

“ Most affectionately yours,

“ HARDWICKE.”*

During the long interval, in which negotiations for forming an administration were carrying on, the King’s patience was abundantly tried. He sent for the Duke of Newcastle, who wished to have everything his own way—for Fox, who would have Pitt

* Anson’s Collection, No. 198.

and Temple dismissed—for Lord Mansfield, who could make no progress—for Lord Waldegrave, who consented to accept the treasury temporarily, whose opinion was taken, and who gave the King the best advice; recommended Pitt, and told his Majesty that, though he disliked Hanover, he would be tractable. His account of his audience is curious. “His Majesty heard everything I said with great patience, and answered with some cheerfulness, that, according to my description, his situation was not to be envied; but he could answer me, it was infinitely more disagreeable than I represented it; that he believed few princes had been exposed to such treatment; that we were angry, because he was partial to his electorate, though he desired nothing more to be done for Hanover than what we were bound in honour and justice to do for any country whatsoever, when it was exposed to danger entirely on our account.

“That we were, indeed, a very extraordinary people, continually talking of our constitution, laws, and liberty; that, as to constitution, he allowed it to be a good one, and defied any man to produce a single instance wherein he had exceeded his proper limits; that he never meant to screen or protect any servant who had done amiss; but still he had a right to choose those who were to serve him, though, at present, so far from having an option, he was not even allowed a negative.

“That, as to our laws, we passed near a hundred every session, which seemed made for no other purpose but to afford us the pleasure of breaking them; and, as to our zeal for liberty, it was in itself highly commendable; but our notions must be somewhat singular, when the chief of the nobility chose rather to be the dependents and followers of a Duke of Newcastle, than to be the friends and counsellors of their sovereign.”

The King regretted much the loss of Lord Hardwicke, who had made up his mind never again to take office. “Lord Hardwicke,” says Lord Waldegrave, “resigned the Great Seal, much to the regret of all dispassionate men, and, indeed, of the nation in general. He had been Chancellor near twenty years, and was inferior to few who had gone before him, having executed that high office with integrity, diligence, and uncommon abilities.”

To Lord Temple the King had the strongest aversion, his lordship having a pert familiarity, which is not always agreeable to majesty; besides, in the affair of Admiral Byng, he had used some insolent expressions, which the King would never forgive. “He went so far,” says Walpole, “as to sketch out some parallel between the monarch himself and the admiral, in which the advantage did not lie on the side of the battle of Oudenarde.” He expressed his dislike to Pitt and Lord Temple in very strong terms, the substance of which was, that “the secretary

made him long speeches, which possibly might be very fine, but were greatly beyond his comprehension, and that his letters were affected, formal, and pedantic."

"That, as to Temple, he was so disagreeable a fellow, there was no bearing him; that, when he attempted to argue, he was pert, and sometimes insolent; that, when he meant to be civil, he was exceeding troublesome, and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant."

"He made use of a strong expression: 'Teli him (the Duke of Newcastle) I do not look upon myself as king, whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels.' "*"

At length Lord Hardwicke, being called in, succeeded in forming an administration, of which Walpole, after giving the heads of it, says—"Fox accepted the Pay-office, professing great content, and that he should offend neither in thought, word, or deed. Both Newcastle and Pitt acted wisely in permitting him to enjoy this place; he was tied up from giving them any trouble; and, while serving for interest under Pitt, how much did it exalt the latter! Yet the latter, too, took care to deserve his share of the reproach. Adjusting their list with Lord Hardwicke, Pitt said he missed a very respectable name there, which he hoped to be placed, greatly: it was

* Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs.

Lord Anson's ; and he was restored to the Admiralty—whether with more opprobrium to himself, who returned to that Board with Pitt's set, abandoning his own, who had been disgraced with him, or to Pitt, who restored so incapable an object to a trust so wretchedly executed, I am in doubt to determine."

This consistent writer of *Memoirs*, just two years before, in 1755, thus records his opinion of the character of this incapable object of 1757—"Lord Anson, attentive to, and in general expert in, maritime details, selected with great care the best officers, and assured the King, that, in the approaching war, he should at least hear of no courts-martial." And again, in the same year, he says—"By the beginning of February, our fleet of thirty ships of the line had been fitted out with equal spirit and expedition. Lord Anson had great merit in that province, where he presided."—So utterly worthless is his testimony.

Walpole, however, contrived to get general information of what was going on in the political world ; but, in the present instance, it is not necessary to have recourse to him, as the Ex-Chancellor Hardwicke, who was sent for by the King, and had the full arrangement of the new administration, has acquainted Lord Anson with the details of the transaction.

" Powis House, June 18, 1757.

"MY DEAR LORD, *Saturday night, 11 o'clock.*

"You will probably be surprised at receiving this letter from me by the King's messenger ; but it will make me more happy than ever I was in my life, if the subject of it shall be as agreeable to your Lordship as it is to me. You have heard how the administration projected under Mr. Fox failed this day se'ennight, in the very moment it was to have been carried into execution, and he was just going into the closet to receive the Exchequer-seal. On Tuesday night the King, by the Duke of Devonshire, ordered me to attend him on Wednesday morning. I have since had the honour of several audiences of his Majesty ; some of them most uneasy and painful ones, though without any anger towards me. My first orders were, for the Duke of Newcastle and myself to negotiate some settlement of an administration with Mr. Pitt and his friends, under certain restrictions, from which his Majesty declared he would never depart. In the course of my audience, I told his Majesty that I could take no part at all, unless some honourable regard was shown to your Lordship, though I could not just then point out the particular thing ; that I had told the gentlemen with whom we had conferred the same thing, and had previously humbly conveyed it to his Majesty.

"In his subsequent discourse the King, in aggravating the inconveniences that would arise from this new plan, told me with warmth, that resignations had been talked of ; that, in the way we were going, there would be resignations enough ; that my Lord Winchelsea was in the next room, in order now to come into the closet to resign. The convenience of this struck me, but I reserved myself. Some

minutes afterwards the King read over my list in heat—objected to Mr. Legge being made a peer and first lord of the Admiralty—was determined not to do two great things for one man at the same time; and in this he was peremptory. I then threw your Lordship in his way, but that I was far from knowing what the other persons would say to it. His Majesty answered quick—‘*I shall like it extremely.*’

“When I stated this to the Duke of Newcastle it made him most happy; and I reported it at the meeting of all four in the evening; I stated it, as it was in reality, the King’s option. My Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt received it with the greatest politeness. Lord Bute first broke the ice; declared his particular respect for your Lordship, and did great justice to your character, and merit in your profession; and declared that he knew those to be the sentiments of the place to which he belonged. Mr. Pitt said he only waited to hear what Lord Bute would say, and most readily concurred in the same sentiments. In short, it ended so that all the four plenipotentiaries agreed that your Lordship should be again at the head of the Admiralty, if the King continued in the same mind; and Mr. Legge has his old office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which he had professed to like better than any other place.

“I have been negotiating ever since upon other points, and have led a most fatiguing life. However at last the whole was settled, and I carried the King the plan in writing this day at noon. The three things which the King had made his *sine qua non* were—1. That he would perform his promise to make Mr. Fox paymaster. 2. That there should be no change in the Secretary-at-War. 3. That Lord Anson should be at the head of the Admiralty. When I told his Majesty that we had carried all this for him, and that all

those points were most dutifully yielded up to his pleasure, I never saw such a change in man. He said at once, with a gracious smile—‘*Then this thing is done; and, my Lord, I thank you heartily.*’ He is in haste to carry it into execution immediately, and indeed it must be in a few days.

“I can’t send your Lordship the plan, for the King kept the original, and I have yet no copy. The great lines are—Mr. Pitt, Secretary of State; Lord Temple to have a Cabinet Council place; the Duke of Newcastle, First Lord of the Treasury; and Mr. Fox, Paymaster. Thus your Lordship is once more called to this great office by the King’s earnest desire, the united voice of all parties, and the concurrence of Saville House—though that must not be talked of. In other circumstances you might possibly not so well like the company you are to sit with, which are those who were turned out at Easter. You know that Mr. Pitt and friends always made restitution their point, and wanted to provide for those friends who were of that Board, so there was no possibility of altering that. But I hope, in the present situation, you will make no difficulty or hesitation about it. Indeed, my dear Lord, this unexpected event, which I have used some honest dexterity in bringing about, is the greatest thing for the King’s honour, for the credit of his old administration, and for your own honour. It does, by their own admission, give the lie to all the calumnies that have been raised; it contradicts all that had been said upon the inquiry; and confirms the issue of that inquiry to be a total justification. The King sees it in that light, and therefore is prodigiously pleased with it. This is the true light wherein it is to be seen; and the unanimity of the Royal family upon it is a most happy and inviting circumstance;

and will, I am confident, induce your Lordship to overlook all other circumstances, which a little time and opportunity will correct. I have privately laid in with Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt that some one of their people may be changed upon being otherwise provided for, and they have agreed to the reasonableness of this. You know the Duke of Newcastle had formerly promised Mr. Stanley, who may be useful to you in the House of Commons; so will Elliot, who, I dare say, will in six weeks be as much yours as theirs. Besides, I am told that Admiral Forbes is likely not to accept, and, if so, it will make room for Sir Edward Hawke, or any other man we shall like.

“This is the state of the case, and when I look back I stand amazed at the sudden change. All our friends are in raptures with it; the court in general pleased, and the town more so. It is looked upon as the strongest administration that has been formed many years, and, by good conduct, may become so.

“I am glad to hear that the waters have agreed with your Lordship, but you must interrupt them for a few days; and, in obedience to his Majesty’s commands, set out immediately, and be in town as soon as you can without hurting your health in this hot weather. I am to see the King on Monday, who will ask me if I have sent for you.

“The Duke of Newcastle sends your Lordship his most cordial compliments and congratulations. Both his Grace and I, and all your friends, entreat your Lordship to make no difficulties, and to let us see you as soon as you can, in health. The messenger waits, and will bring you a letter from dear Lady Anson, who knew not one word of this matter till I had settled it finally with the King this day.

“Adieu, my dear Lord, &c., &c.

“HARDWICKE.”

Thus, then, in July, 1757, we have Lord Anson restored to his seat at the Board of Admiralty, after the short administration of less than five months by Earl Temple, and of three months by the Earl of Winchelsea.

In the spring and summer of this year, as in the last, Admirals Boscawen, West, and Brodrick had the command of the Channel fleet alternately, to cruise off Brest and in soundings, to watch the enemy's movements, distress his trade, and to intercept any supplies or reinforcements that might be sent out from Brest to the colonies. Their navy had been very much reduced by the preceding war, and their ships in commission and ready in the western ports were barely sufficient to escort their convoys; but it did so happen, that our cruising squadrons could not, with all their vigilance, prevent M. Bois de la Mothe from slipping out of Brest with a squadron of ships of war and transports, carrying reinforcements and supplies for Louisbourg, where he arrived in safety.

A reinforcement of four ships of the line was immediately sent out to Admiral Holborne at Halifax. His fleet, now consisting of nineteen sail-of-the-line, two of fifty guns, and some frigates, proceeded to block up the French in the harbour of Louisbourg, but having arrived twenty leagues from the port, on the night of the 24th September, it blew a perfect hurricane, which continued to the middle of the following

day, when, most fortunately, it veered round to the north, or the whole fleet, then close in with the rocky shore of Cape Breton, would in all probability have been doomed to destruction. As it was, the *Tilbury* was wrecked, and the captain and most of her crew perished. Many of them were obliged to throw their guns overboard, and in others, some of the seamen were lost. Twelve or thirteen ships of the line were dismasted, and otherwise so disabled that the admiral, after collecting his shattered squadron and ascertaining their damages, sent those that were in the worst condition to England under Sir Charles Hardy and Commodore Holmes, and repaired with the rest to Halifax. The French did not escape the effects of the storm. Several of them suffered so severely as to make it necessary to send them home, and such as escaped capture by our cruisers arrived at Brest in a very shattered state.

Mr. Pitt, however, nothing daunted by this disaster, though the nation was dissatisfied as if the admiral had been the cause of them, desired Anson to get the ships speedily repaired, and others brought forward, to be employed in active operations at home, it being his intention that, in conjunction with the army, they should direct their united forces against the ports and towns of the French coast. The plan proposed had a double object in view: the one was to demolish the enemy's naval arsenals, by blowing up the fortifications, docks, basins, and other public works, and to destroy

or capture his shipping, and by so doing put an end to the vapouring threat of their invasion of England or Ireland by this retaliation on his own coast. The other, to create a diversion in favour of the King of Prussia and the Duke of Cumberland, by alarming the French for the safety of their coast and harbours, and thereby inducing them to withdraw a portion of their continental army for the more important service of protecting their own shores, or at least to prevent them from sending reinforcements. He concluded with an earnest desire, that Lord Anson would have a sufficient fleet ready at Spithead, with the least possible delay, and recommend an officer to command the naval part of the expedition, whom he considered most eligible for such a service. He at once named Sir Edward Hawke, and forthwith put him in communication with Mr. Pitt. Vice-Admiral Knowles and Rear-Admiral Brodrick were placed under his command. The fleet consisted of sixteen sail of the line, two frigates, five sloops, two bombs, two fire-ships, and a number of transports, having on board about 7000 land forces, the command of which was given to Sir John Mordaunt. Under him was General Conway, second in command, then Cornwallis, Howard, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe, who contracted a friendship with Howe, the captain of the *Magnanime*, which Walpole describes as “like the union of cannon and gunpowder.”

A joint instruction from Mr. Secretary Pitt to Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt directed them to "attempt, as far as shall be found practicable, a descent on the French coast, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, and if practicable, by a vigorous impression, force that place; to burn and destroy, to the utmost of their power, all shipping, docks, magazines, and arsenals that shall be found there, and exert such other efforts as shall be judged most proper for annoying the enemy." The fleet left Spithead on the 8th September, and on the 22nd anchored in Basque Roads. On the following day a detachment under Vice-Admiral Knowles, in the *Neptune*, with the *Magnanime*, *Barfleur*, *America*, *Barford*, *Royal William*, and *Alcide*, together with the transports, were ordered to attack and get possession of the Isle d'Aix, as a stepping-stone to Rochefort. The *Magnanime* was selected to lead. Howe stood direct for the fort, reserving his fire till he came within forty yards of it, when he brought up with a spring on his cable, and opened so tremendous and well-directed a fire, that in less than half an hour the enemy were driven from their guns and surrendered at discretion.

The next step taken by Sir Edward Hawke was to cause the coast of the mainland to be reconnoitred, and soundings taken, in order to secure a safe landing and protection for the troops; and, after maturely considering their report, "I was of opinion," says

the admiral, "that they might land." A discussion, however, arose as to the expediency of landing at the fort of Fouras, and marching thence upon Rochefort. As some difference of opinion seemed to prevail, Sir John Mordaunt proposed a council of war to assemble and determine it. In the mean time, while this was going on, the French were assembling a force at Rochefort and making preparations for receiving the attack. The council decided that the landing could be effected. The fort of Fouras, however, was stated as a formidable object, and that large ships could not approach sufficiently near for their cannon to reach it. The French pilot, *Thierri*, who had carried the *Magnanime* close to the walls of Aix, said the approach was practicable, and volunteered to take the same ship before Fouras: he was told he might have the *Barfleur*, which drew less water, but he persisted in going in with the *Magnanime*. Being asked why, he replied, "*Parceque le Capitaine Howe est jeune et brave.*" When the expedition was given up by the commander of the troops, to the great surprise of Sir Edward Hawke, it was attempted to throw discredit on *Thierri's* proposal, and to accuse him of ignorance; but Sir Edward, in his letter to Mr. Pitt, says, "The pilot of the *Magnanime* has behaved like a man of bravery and skill, and as such I beg leave to recommend him to you."

The following private letter to Lord Anson from Sir Edward Hawke, enclosing a copy of minutes of

the council of war, fully explains that gallant officer's opinion and feelings on this mortifying failure :—

“ *Ramillies, Basque Roads,*

“ MY LORD,

30th September, 1757.

“ The Viper sloop joined me within the entrance of this place, just before we came to an anchor, Mr. Knowles' division having brought to some little time before. I have kept her all this time, flattering myself with the daily hopes that the land-officers would come to a determination to land the troops, to try what was possible to be done for their country, notwithstanding they were of opinion it was impracticable to take the town of Rochefort by escalade. If there is faith in man, my Lord, you may believe that I have urged this to them continually, painting the absolute necessity of it in the strongest terms that I could possibly think of. But I am infinitely concerned to tell your Lordship that you will see by their result that all this has availed nothing. I made no hesitation in attempting to remove every obstacle out of their way that was in my power, in which I happily succeeded, and wanted no council of war, nor never would have had any, if they had not been demanded, to confirm me in my opinion that it was right I should use my utmost endeavours for my king and country.”

Sir Edward adds in a postscript—

“ The pilot of the *Magnanime* has behaved extremely well, and is truly deserving of your Lordship's favour and protection.”

“ Minutes of a Council of War assembled on board his Majesty's ship *Ramillies, Basque Road, 28th September, 1757.*

“ Sir Edward Hawke, K. B., &c., President, &c. &c.

“ The Council, in order to determine whether forts leading to, and upon the mouth of, the Charente were open, and capable of being attacked by land, proceeded to examine—

“ 1. Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe, who declares that, with regard to Fort Fouras, it is his opinion that it is not a strong place, seeming to be principally fortified towards the sea; yet he saw people at work on the land-side. That, if our troops could come at the Barbette battery by it, it might be of great use in taking the fort, provided there was proper ammunition for that purpose. He further gives it as his opinion that Fort Fouras cannot be taken but by artillery and escalade.

“ 2. Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke. Knows nothing but what he saw through a telescope.

“ 3. A French prisoner said Fort Fouras was circular—had no ditch; that Fort la Pointe is also circular, like Fouras; that the best landing-place is in the bay of Chatilaillon; that, from hence, along the Rochefort Road, is a fine open country; that on Friday last he was on Fouras; that there were but twenty-two or twenty-four guns in it, and not above fifty men; that there are much the same on Fort la Pointe, and that both forts are enclosed by a wall on the land-side.

“ The council having maturely considered the evidence, Sir John Mordaunt declared he was of opinion that ~~some~~ thing further should be attempted, and that he would give his orders accordingly that moment, if any (meaning the general officer of the troops) would say it was advisable.

“ Vice-Admiral Knowles declared he had received great light from the persons examined, and therefore thought something ought to be attempted.

“ Major-General Conway declared for the attempt, merely from his own opinion, without regard to the evidence.

" Sir Edward Hawke, appealing to every member of the council for the truth of what he said, declared that he was now of the same opinion which he had given both before and at the council of war on the 25th—that *the landing could be effected*—that the troops ought to be landed for some further attempt, which was alone matter of consideration with the general officers of the troops, he not taking upon him to be judge of land operations; but would, from his confidence in their abilities and skill in their own profession, readily assent to any resolution they should come to, and assist them to the utmost of his power. This being settled, after some debate, Sir Edward Hawke, Vice-Admiral Knowles, Rear-Admiral Brodrick, and Captain Rodney, withdrew.

" The Council of War being re-assembled, and the question put,

" Whether it is advisable to land the troops to attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente ?

" Yes.

" No.

" Colonel Geo. Howard.

" The Hon. Edward Corn-

" Captain Geo. Bridges
Rodney.

wallis, but afterwards acquiesced with the majority."

" Rear-Admiral Brodrick.

" Right Hon. H Seymour
Conway.

" Vice-Admiral Knowles.

" Sir John Mordaunt.

" Sir Edward Hawke.

Sir Edward adds : " The debates at the council of war of the 25th were so various, tedious, and unconnected, that it was impossible to take minutes."

The one he sent may be taken as a sufficient specimen of such an assembly.

Sir Edward Hawke lost not a moment in ordering every disposition to be made for landing the troops, and part of them were actually in the boats, when Rear-Admiral Brodrick reported to him, "that the Generals had come to a resolution not to land that night." And on the following day Sir Edward received a laconic epistle from the General, couched as follows :—

"SIR—Upon the receipt of your letter I talked it over with the other land-officers, who were of our council of war, and we all agree in returning directly to England.

"I have, Sir, &c.

"J. MORDAUNT."

It may easily be supposed with what astonishment and mortification the gallant Sir Edward, and, indeed, the whole navy, received such a notification on the part of the military officers. Sir Edward, in reporting his proceedings to Mr. Pitt, says, "I beg leave to assure you, Sir, I have discharged my duty to my king and country with fidelity, diligence, and integrity, and wish more could have been done for the good of the service." In point of fact, nothing whatever was done, except the demolition of the works on Isle d'Aix by Howe alone. Of this we have the high testimony of Wolfe, the bravest of the brave, whom all loved, and all delighted to follow. In a private letter to his father, dated Rade des

Basques, 30th September, 1757, he says, "By the Viper sloop I have the displeasure to inform you that our operations here are at an end. We lost the *lucky moment* in war, and are not able to recover it. The whole of this expedition has not cost the nation ten men ; nor has any man been able to distinguish himself in the service of his country, except *Mr. Howe*, who was an example to us all."

A general, but temporary gloom, was cast over the public mind in consequence of the signal failure of this grand expedition ; but it operated, as might be expected, in a manner altogether the reverse on the feelings of the enemy. Nothing but rejoicing was heard along the whole line of coast, as if some great victory had been gained ; and, as if to show how little they were dispirited by the attempts of England to molest their coasts, they boasted, as usual, that in the spring of the following year an army would assemble at St. Maloes, of sufficient force to turn the tables on their enemy by an invasion of Jersey and Guernsey. Another piece of good fortune tended to elevate the spirits of this volatile people. Intelligence being received in England of the sailing of a large fleet from Louisbourg under M. Bois de la Mothe, which had escaped our cruisers when outward bound, Sir Edward Hawke, which had scarcely reached Spithead from Basque Roads, was ordered to proceed to sea with a strong squadron, in which was Vice-Admiral Boscawen, one of the lords of the

Admiralty, with the view of intercepting it. The squadron sailed from Spithead on the 22nd October to cruise off Brest, but encountered a violent gale of wind, which dispersed and drove the British fleet from their station, and, before they could join and reassume their cruising-ground, M. Bois de la Mothe had the good fortune, a second time, to escape with great part of his convoy into Brest, having suffered severely in the same gale of wind, in which most of his ships were crippled. Two of his frigates, however, and several of his convoy, were captured. Indeed, the cruising frigates were most actively employed, and with great success. Captain Lockhart, of the *Tartar*, took no less than four stout privateers and three frigates in the course of the year, and received from the merchants of London a piece of plate, value two hundred guineas, and another from Bristol, of one hundred guineas. Several other ships of war and strong privateers fell into the hands of our cruisers, generally after severe actions.

The greatest exertions were made in the naval department for the service of the year 1758. The number of seamen voted was 60,000, including 14,845 marines. For the greater encouragement of seamen to enter the naval service, the Admiralty brought into Parliament a bill for a more regular and frequent payment of their wages, and to enable them when out of the kingdom to make remittances for the

support of their wives and families, which was, some years afterwards, simplified by the system of allowing seamen, on signifying their wish to the captain, to assign over a portion of their pay for the use of their families.

The two flag-officers on whom Anson, and, it may be said, the nation generally, placed the greatest confidence, were Sir Edward Hawke and Boscawen ; and both were immediately put in requisition. The latter, as early as February, left St. Helen's for North America with twenty-three sail-of-the-line, six frigates, and several sloops and smaller vessels, having under his command Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy and Commodore Durell, and arrived at Halifax early in May. The object was to recover Cape Breton and Louisburgh, which had been restored to the French at the peace, and which Admiral Holburne had failed to effect, the preceding year, in consequence of the disabled state of his ships, by a tremendous hurricane, which overtook them when just off the harbour. The fleet now under Boscawen assembled in Gabarus Bay. Seven frigates were appointed by the admiral to cover the debarkation of the troops, which was effected with the greatest order and regularity, under Brigadier-General Wolfe, in the face of a heavy fire of cannon and musketry from the enemy, who fled and abandoned their works, leaving behind them several cannon and mortars. The enemy next sunk a ship-

of-the-line, a frigate, and two corvettes, across the mouth of the harbour of Louisburgh. Another ship-of-the-line took fire, and was consumed, together with two other vessels. Two of the line still remained in the harbour, which the admiral was determined either to take or destroy; and for this purpose six hundred seamen were sent in boats in the night, under Commanders Laforey and Balfour, and, amidst the fire of the ships and batteries, burnt one of them that got aground, and towed the other off. All the ships being thus destroyed, Boscawen informed the French General that he should send his fleet into the harbour next morning; but he replied by desiring to capitulate, and terms were immediately agreed upon. Admiral Boscawen returned to England, arrived at Spithead on the 1st November, and very shortly afterwards received the thanks of Parliament.

The French, apparently not aware of the destination of Boscawen's fleet, and ignorant as they must have been of his success, had fitted out at Rochfort a considerable squadron of ships-of-the-line and frigates, with forty or fifty transports, to convey troops and stores, as reinforcements for their North American colonies. The Admiralty had early intimation of this, and of its assembling in Basque Roads, near the Isle d'Aix. Anson was fully alive to the importance of preventing the sailing of this armament, and appointed Sir Edward Hawke, who

was always ready for any service, to command a squadron of seven sail-of-the-line and three frigates, for the purpose of watching the motions of the enemy. With these ships he left Spithead on the 11th March, and early in the morning of the 4th April was opposite the entrance of Basque Roads. On proceeding towards the anchorage, he observed five sail-of-the-line lying off the isle of Aix, besides six or seven frigates and forty merchant-ships, having on board, as he afterwards learnt, three thousand troops. The enemy, on perceiving Hawke's squadron, began to cut and slip their cables, and to run in the greatest confusion towards the bottom of the roads, with the view of getting into the river Charente. Many of their ships stuck in the mud; but, night coming on, the admiral, aware of the danger of our ships getting on shore, from the shallowness of the water, made the signal to anchor off the Isle d'Aix.

In the morning the enemy's ships-of-war were seen four or five miles off, all aground and almost dry, some of them and the transports laying on their broadsides; but there was no possibility of getting within gun-shot of them. Launches were sent down from Rochfort to carry out warps, and drag the ships through the mud; guns, great quantities of stores, and ballast, were thrown overboard; and, in the course of the day, they gained the mouth of the Charente, leaving about eighty buoys over their anchors, guns, and other articles which had been thrown overboard,

and which our frigates and boats cut away. Sir Edward sent a large party of marines ashore on the Isle d'Aix, who completely destroyed the new works which the French had there erected ; and thus was this powerful armament in effect totally destroyed for the present year, while the unexpected visit fully answered the purpose which Mr. Pitt had in view,—that of harassing the enemy along his coasts, of employing the French troops in the protection of their several ports, and thus preventing them sending reinforcements to the armies on the Continent, which they otherwise might be disposed to do.

Mr. Pitt was not a minister to be disheartened by a first failure when he had in view the accomplishment of a great object. He conceived that a measure calculated to throw obstructions in the way of the enemy, desirous of recruiting his forces on the Continent, was the best policy to be pursued by this country. Conformably with this idea, and notwithstanding the little success of the former expedition against Rochfort, he resolved to follow up the plan of creating alarm, by attacking and destroying his harbours, defences, magazines, and shipping, together with all kind of buildings of a public nature. This he considered the surest way of keeping their troops employed at home, and perhaps of compelling them to recall a part of those already with the continental armies. In addition to these motives, there was another, though of minor importance. The French,

elated at our former failure, announced, as they had done before, that vast preparations were making by them at St. Maloes and other parts of the coast for the invasion of Jersey and Guernsey.

Mr. Pitt communicated verbally to Lord Anson his view of the naval forces that would be required, and when they ought to be in readiness to proceed, giving him to understand, that he expected no delay would take place, nor any avoidable obstruction to their departure at the time specified. Every exertion was made to comply with the ministers' wishes ; and on the 27th May the whole of the naval force was assembled at Spithead. It consisted of two separate fleets, or squadrons, the one composed of twenty-two sail-of-the-line and nine frigates, the command of which, at the particular desire of Mr. Pitt, was taken by Lord Anson himself, who hoisted his flag in the *Royal George*, of one hundred guns. Of this fleet he appointed Sir Edward Hawke second in command. The other squadron consisted of one ship-of-the-line, four of fifty guns, ten frigates, five sloops, two fire-ships, and two bomb-ketches, the command of which was conferred on the Hon. Captain Howe, the only man, according to Wolfe, who distinguished himself on the former occasion, and "was an example to all." Such a man was not likely to be passed over either by Pitt or Lord Anson. The latter, indeed, might consider him as one of his own, though the storm off Cape Horn prevented him from sharing in his fortunes.

The intention of the grand fleet was to cruise off Brest, and to cover the squadron under Commodore Howe, so that the enemy might not be able to interrupt or disturb his operations, on whom, in fact, depended the accomplishment of the main object of the expedition. To Howe was intrusted the charge of embarkation and management of the whole military preparations. The army consisted of fourteen thousand men, divided into five brigades, each under the orders of a major-general. The command of this great force was conferred on Lieutenant-General the Duke of Marlborough, under whom were Lieutenant-Generals Lord George Sackville and the Earl of Ancram, Major-Generals Waldegrave, Mostyn, Drury, Boscawen, and Granville Elliot (afterwards Lord Heathfield).

On the 1st June Lord Anson made the signal to weigh, and steered down Channel; shortly after Commodore Howe's squadron also weighed, and stood directly across the Channel. On the morning of the 2nd, Howe's squadron was off Cape la Hogue, but the weather being stormy, and the tides rapid in this part of the coast, it was the 5th before he reached Concale Bay, where it was intended to land the troops. Howe had his broad pendant in the *Essex*, as being more adapted for the kind of navigation he had to encounter; but, finding she drew too much water, he shifted it into the *Success*, and with three sloops stood in close to the shore, to cover the troops on their disembarking, to scour the beach, and silence

a battery that was meant to defend it. The enemy immediately fled, and the inhabitants deserted their houses. Hence the Duke ordered his forces to march to St. Maloes, in the neighbourhood of which they encamped ; but, having reconnoitred the works of the town, it was stated that they were capable of standing a siege for a month ; and, as intelligence was received of a vast number of troops pouring down to the coast, the Duke of Marlborough contented himself with destroying the ships, the public buildings, and magazines filled with naval stores of all descriptions, at the two suburbs of St. Servaud and Solidore, by setting fire to them, which caused a tremendous conflagration, that lasted the whole night.

The property destroyed consisted of thirteen or fourteen ships-of-war, about seventy merchant-vessels, a large number of small craft, an immense quantity of pitch, oil, hemp, cordage, plank, and every species of naval stores ; the value of the whole consumed being estimated at something not far short of a million sterling. From the strength of St. Maloes, and the assemblage of the enemy's forces, it was deemed expedient to return to Concale Bay, where the troops were reimbarcked ; and hence, after several unsuccessful attempts to get out to sea, on account of the wind and bad weather, they at length, on the 21st June, were able to proceed off Havre ; but here they found the enemy so well prepared, that they bore away for Cherburg. Arrangements were speedily

made for landing ; but, when everything was ready for a descent, a gale of wind sprung up, blowing directly upon the shore, and making so great a surf, that it was deemed impracticable, and the transports, with the utmost difficulty, were got safe out of the roadstead.

On the return of the expedition, the forces were landed on the Isle of Wight. Mr. Pitt, so far from expressing any disappointment, was quite satisfied at the alarm which it had occasioned, and the diversion which had been made of the French land-forces. Howe was sent for to town, and the result was, to prepare, without loss of time, as the summer was but just set in, for another descent on the coast of France, that the enemy might have no respite from that state of alarm, which these hostile visits had spread over the country, and which were not a little increased by the fleet of Anson hovering along the coast from Brest to Rochfort. The Duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, and the other general officers, had no great taste for this species of maritime warfare, and volunteered to take reinforcements for the allied army in Germany. Lieutenant-General Bligh was recalled from Ireland, and appointed to the command of the land-forces to be employed on the new expedition. He was a man advanced in life, had seen good service, but was considered too old for the severe duties that were now likely to be required of him. The troops were speedily embarked :

on the 1st August the expedition sailed from St. Helen's; and on the 6th came to anchor in Cherbourg Road. The Commodore, with General Bligh, and the other general officers, having reconnoitred the shore, found the place much strengthened since the last visit, and a large body of the enemy assembled. Howe therefore moved the fleet to Marais Bay, drove them out of their entrenchments, landed the troops, who, after having scoured the country before them, marched in two columns direct for Cherbourg, which the General entered without opposition, the enemy retiring from the town, and abandoning the villages and works along the coast as he advanced.

The fort and the several works being secured, the General gave orders to the engineers to demolish the piers, which formed the entrance into the harbour, the walls of the basin, the slips and docks, magazines and storehouses. Upwards of one hundred and sixty iron guns and some mortars were rendered useless, or thrown over the batteries into the basin, and the batteries destroyed. Twenty-two brass cannon and two mortars were embarked in one of the enemy's ships taken in the harbour, and sent to England. From twenty to thirty vessels of different kinds were carried off, or sunk in the entrance of the harbour; and, after the undisturbed process of demolition was completed, conformably with the instructions of the Secretary of State, on the 17th the fleet crossed over to Portland Roads to refit and refresh.

The brass cannon, after being exhibited to the public some time in Hyde Park, were drawn through the city in pompous procession, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, and lodged in the Tower. The success of this expedition was favourably considered by Mr. Pitt, and generally by the public, after the failure before Rochfort. Lady Anson, however, appears to be rather jocose on the subject. "To be sure," she says, "war has its advantages, particularly in the fine sights its triumphs afford, of which to-day has seen one, in the noble procession of nearly three hundred dray-horses with the twenty Cherburg cannon, which all the Johns and Joans in town, who have kept Hyde Park like a fair for some days, are convinced must be the first brass ones that ever were seen in England. I had a great mind to have them sent to Woolwich, where there lies near two hundred, which my Lord took and never showed to anybody." In another letter, written after the failure of the next and last expedition, she says—"This unhappy news arrived just in time to set off by reflection the procession of dray-horses on Saturday. I never understood, till since, the reason of its having been so long delayed, nor why they were carried through the Horse Guards and over Westminster Bridge; but it seems Saturday was the day of the Southwark fair, and, as the colours were sent to delight the *city*, these were intended to charm the *borough*."

No time was lost in the preparation for completing the minister's instructions, which were to consider

Granville as the next object of attack ; but, as Cherbourg required no longer any of the enemy's forces, and intelligence was received that 10,000 of their troops were assembled in its neighbourhood, the attack on Granville was given up, and also that on Morlaix, advices having been sent to them from England, that the French, in consequence of Anson's appearance before Brest, had assembled a large army in that neighbourhood. On consultation, therefore, it was decided that the landing should be effected in the bay of St. Lunaire, thence to march upon St. Maloes, being about two leagues to the eastward ; but the fleet, experiencing stormy weather, was obliged to take refuge in Weymouth Roads, from whence, on its moderating, they again proceeded, on the 3rd September, and anchored in St. Lunaire Bay, where, on the following day, the troops were landed without opposition. The General, Commodore Howe, and Prince Edward (Duke of York), proceeded to a village about three miles from St. Maloes to reconnoitre the position intended to be taken up. They were fired at from a neighbouring fort, and a shot fell close to the Prince's feet. The boisterous state of the weather made it dangerous for the fleet to remain in St. Lunaire, and the Commodore thought it right to inform the General that, if the westerly gales continued, it would not be possible to reimbarc the troops at that place ; and that, for this purpose, it would be expedient the ships and

transports should move round to the bay of St. Cas, where there was good shelter and a sandy beach.

The intended attack on St. Maloes was therefore given up, and the troops began their march across the country to St. Cas. In this march they were harassed by parties of men concealed in the woods and villages. At Martignan the General received information from some deserters, that the French were in great force between that place and St. Cas. It afterwards appeared that an army of 10,000 men had been collected, under the command of the Duc d'Aiguillon. In the mean time Commodore Howe anchored his squadron and transports in the bay of St. Cas. The troops made their appearance, and immediately afterwards the French were seen on the heights, but refrained from molesting the embarkation, until the rear-guard only were left on the beach. They then brought their field-pieces to bear, and a dreadful slaughter ensued, both on the beach and in the boats, though they were covered by an incessant fire from the frigates, sloops, and bombs. About 700 men were missing, of whom near 500 were prisoners, and the rest killed. Among the latter were General Drury and several other officers, and of the former Lord Frederick Cavendish of the Guards, and Captains Rowley, Mapleden, Paston, Elphinstone, and Duff, of the navy.

Such was the unfortunate termination of these shore expeditions, but which, however, had the effect

that Mr. Pitt expected. Lord Anson, with the squadron under his command, had continued to block up the harbour of Brest, during the first land expedition. Soon after his arrival on his station, Sir Edward Hawke was seized with a fever and obliged to return to England. The Admiral therefore formed his fleet into three divisions, and appointed Captains Cornish and Geary commodores. These and his smaller cruisers cleared the sea of the enemy's trading vessels, which amounted to few, but mostly coasters. The Admiral returned to Plymouth Sound on the 19th July, where the third littoral expedition was fitting out; and, having taken in water and provisions, he sailed again on the 22nd, having been joined by Rear-Admiral Holmes, who hoisted his flag in the *Ramillies*, and, about the end of August, by Rear-Admiral Saunders with his flag in the *Nep-tune*. The three Admirals continued cruising till the middle of September, when Commodore Howe had finished his campaigns on the coast of France. Lord Anson and Rear-Admiral Holmes, with the greater part of the squadron, then returned to England, leaving the rest, under Admiral Saunders, to block up Brest, and to endeavour to fall in with and intercept the French squadron expected to be on its return from Quebec. Having continued on this service till the middle of December, he returned with his squadron to Portsmouth.

The cruising ships in the Channel and to the west-

ward made great havoc among the privateers of the enemy, two or three of which were such fine and powerful ships, that they were purchased into the navy; several large and valuable merchantmen from the West Indies and America also fell into the hands of our cruisers. Captain Denis of the Dorsetshire, one of Anson's former lieutenants, had the good fortune, after a close engagement of nearly two hours, to capture the *Raisonable*, a French ship-of-war of 64 guns and 630 men, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon, Chevalier de Rohan, who had 61 men killed and 100 wounded in the action; the Dorsetshire 15 killed and 20 wounded. She was a fine new ship, was purchased by the government, and added to the list of the navy under her own name. She struck to the *Achilles*, Captain Barrington, on his coming up and firing a few shot.

A brilliant action was fought in the Mediterranean between the *Monmouth* of 64 guns, Captain Arthur Gardiner, and the *Foudroyant* of 84 guns and 800 men, commanded by M. du Quesne, chef d'escadre. Captain Gardiner was wounded in the arm by the first broadside, and soon after, when encouraging his men to exert themselves in the unequal contest, was shot dead by a ball striking his forehead. Lieutenant Casket maintained the contest most gallantly, when, at the end of about four hours, the enemy being a complete wreck, her decks a scene of dreadful carnage, and her fire nearly silenced, on the *Swiftsure*

and Hampton Court coming up, she struck her colours, having 100 men killed and 90 wounded. The Monmouth had 28 killed and 79 wounded. The Foudroyant was the favourite ship so long commanded by Sir John Jervis, and in which he captured Le Pégase.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF 1759.

Preparations for the campaign of 1759—Threats of the invasion of England, Scotland, and Ireland—Measures taken to meet it—Thurot escapes from Dunkirk—takes Carrickfergus—is met by Elliot, who captures his three frigates—Thurot killed in the action—Rodney attacks Havre—Anecdote of Rodney—Boscawen's action with the fleet under M. de la Clue—defeats it—De la Clue wounded, and dies—The glorious defeat of Conflans' fleet by the gallant Sir Edward Hawke—Extract of his letter to the Duc d'Aiguillon—Joy of the nation—Hawke receives the thanks of the King, and a pension of 2000*l.* a-year on the Irish Establishment—Receives also the thanks of Parliament—Hawke no friend to the line-of-battle—Expedition against Quebec—Sir Charles Saunders appointed to command the fleet, and General Wolfe the army—Jealousy of the army on the appointment of the latter—Operations on the St. Lawrence—Quebec taken—Wolfe killed—Noble conduct of Saunders on reaching England—Praise of Wolfe by Pitt in proposing a public monument—also of Saunders by Pitt and Walpole—Rewards to officers, by appointing generals and colonels of marines—Capture of Martinique—Gallant conduct of Admiral Pocock in the East Indies.

DURING the whole of this year, the war against France was prosecuted with the greatest vigour by the navy both at home and abroad ; Parliament having voted for the sea-service 60,000 men, including 14,845 marines. Anson was indefatigable in getting the fleet and squadrons well equipped, officered, and manned, and he selected the choicest flag-officers to command them—Sir Edward Hawke,

the Hon. Edward Boscawen, Sir Charles Saunders, Sir Charles Hardy; the Vice-Admirals Brodrick, Cotes, and Pocock; and the Rear-Admirals Rodney, Geary, Holmes, Durell, and Stevens, being all employed. To these may also be added, Commodore Sir Piercy Brett, Captains Denis, Howe, Keppel, and Byron, associates with Anson in the South Seas; and it must have been most gratifying to the noble lord, as well as to themselves, that all of these old companions were selected by the gallant Hawke to serve under his immediate eye, in the centre division of the Channel fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail-of-the-line and thirteen frigates. Most of his other captains were such as had opportunities of distinguishing themselves in the course of the last three years of the present, as they since did in future wars.

The judicious choice of commanders, together with the excellent condition of the fleet, which Hawke was appointed to command, added to the high reputation Anson had acquired, as head of the naval department, and, above all, the energetic and decisive part which Mr. Pitt took, as Secretary of State, had inspired confidence into the public mind, raised the spirit of the nation, and enabled the government, without much opposition in Parliament, to send assistance to our continental allies; at the same time ample protection was afforded to our colonies in every part of the world, and some of the

most important and valuable ones of the enemy fell into our possession. On the other hand, the French, having succeeded, in the year 1756, by their threats of invasion, in intimidating the government of that day, and induce it to keep a larger naval force at home than was required, began, early in the present year, again to put in practice the same kind of artifice, and to promulgate their intention of invading England, Scotland, and Ireland at the same time. To give more effect to this oft repeated threat, active preparations were carrying on in their several ports for the execution of this avowed purpose: but Mr. Pitt was not a man to be disheartened by threats or demonstrations, both of which were liberally resorted to; and to add strength to the sincerity of their intentions, a large body of troops was assembled at Vannes in Lower Brittany, under the command of the Duc d'Aiguillon, and a multitude of transports assembled in the Morbihan to convey them to their destination. A squadron of ships of war, under the command of M. de la Clue, was likewise appointed to join another assembled at Brest, and commanded by M. de Conflans. These combined squadrons were specially appointed to escort the fleet of transports, crowded with troops, to the shores of Ireland.

For the invasion of England, an army was assembled on the coast of Normandy, and vast preparations made for its embarkation at Havre de Grace, in vessels drawing little water, and capable each of

conveying across the Channel from three to four hundred men—a sort of praams, not unlike those prepared in after-times by Buonaparte at Boulogne; and they seem to have been looked upon, pretty much as they were in our time, with considerable alarm by some, but treated with ridicule by others, especially by naval men. The projectors of this “mosquito fleet” calculated on slipping them out, and crossing the Channel in the absence of our ships of war; and the government of France expressed their sanguine expectations that, by this project, they would succeed in retaliating on our recent attacks on their shores, and with far better success.

To create an alarm in Scotland, and with the view, at the same time, of drawing off the attention of England from the other more formidable preparations, a small armament was fitted out in the port of Dunkirk, consisting of land-forces, from fifteen hundred to two thousand men, to be escorted by a small squadron of five frigates, under the command of M. Thurot, a man not regularly brought up to the naval service, but one who had greatly distinguished himself as master of a privateer. He was of an active and enterprising turn of mind, and well acquainted with the ports of the North Sea and Ireland, on which he had been successful in capturing the coasting trade, and had rendered himself well known—in short, a kind of prototype of Paul Jones.

To Lord Anson and his Board was of course in-

trusted the charge of preparing and making a proper distribution of the naval force, so as to meet, and, if possible, defeat, these several formidable projects, which the enemy had planned, for the invasion of England, Scotland and Ireland at the same time ; with the view, no doubt, of inflicting on each part of the United Kingdom as much distress and destruction as their successful landing might enable them to do. To Rear-Admiral Rodney was given the command of a squadron consisting of one sixty-gun ship, four of fifty guns, and six frigates, with five or six bomb-ketches, to watch the motions of that portion of the enemy's ships and transports in Havre de Grace destined for the invasion of England. Commodore Boys was employed to block up the port of Dunkirk with a squadron consisting of two fifty-gun ships, two forty-six gun frigates, and two sloops ; but the sagacious Thurot found means to slip out with five frigates, on the 12th October, when the Commodore was forced from his station. Finding he had proceeded to the northward, Commodore Boys closely pursued him ; but he had the good fortune to reach the port of Gottenburg before he was overtaken. Here he remained for the winter, and his absence put an end to the projected expedition from Dunkirk.

Thurot, however, was of too bold and enterprising a character to be thus defeated. He therefore, in the early part of the following year, 1760, left Gottenburg, and proceeded for the coast of Ireland ; but

after encountering boisterous weather and severe gales of wind, which reduced his five frigates to three, he appeared before the town of Carrickfergus on the 20th February, which, after a resolute defence by a few invalids, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, was obliged to surrender to this daring adventurer. Having replenished his ships and refreshed their crews, he levied contributions on the town, spiked the few guns on the fort, and then took his departure. Captain John Elliot of the *Æolus*, with two other frigates, the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, having received intelligence at Kinsale of Thurot's visit to Carrickfergus, put to sea in quest of him. He fortunately fell in with him on the morning of the 28th off the Isle of Man, brought him to close action, which continued with great bravery on both sides for an hour and a half, when the three French frigates, the *Marishal de Belleisle* of forty-four, *Le Blonde* of thirty-six, and *La Terpsichore* of twenty-four, struck their colours. The brave Thurot, for brave he unquestionably was, fell in the action, with a great number of men. His ownship was so much shattered that it was with difficulty could be kept afloat till Elliot with his prizes reached Ramsay Bay in the Isle of Man, when, having refitted his now doubled squadron, he proceeded to England, where shortly after he and his captains received the thanks of Parliament for the important service they had performed.

The following extract of Elliot's letter to his brother, gives an account of the action briefly, in a

plain, seamanlike style: — “ On the 28th he came out with his three ships, and we were fortunate enough to fall in with him at daylight in the morning coming towards us ; he afterwards ran for it, and we followed. About nine o'clock we got up with the *Marishal Belleisle*, and ran him directly on board, which carried his bowsprit away. The *Brilliant* and *Pallas* were just at hand ; and I was no sooner clear than they both gave him a broadside or two a-piece, and went on to the two fresh ships, leaving the *Marishal* to me. I ran him alongside again, and after that boarded him a second time, and Forbes went on board, and struck her colours. The *Blonde* fell on board me at the same time : however, to make short, we took them all in an hour and a half, with very little loss—six killed, and between twenty and thirty wounded. The enemy lost their Commander *Thurot*, and between two and three hundred wounded.”

This action, and many others in the course of the war, show that bravery alone is not sufficient, but requires to be aided by skill, good seamanship, and that undaunted and resolute courage, inherent in British seamen, but which, in French sailors, generally gives way when closely pressed — always when boarded.

When the fleet of praams in *Havre de Grace* had assumed the appearance of readiness, the Admiralty ordered Rear-Admiral Rodney (promoted to that rank in the early part of this year) to proceed

with his little squadron and bomb-ketches to bombard that port, and use every means in his power to destroy them, together with the magazines. On the 3rd July he anchored in the road, and, having arranged the bomb-ketches at the proper distance, began the same evening to throw shells into the town and among the flotilla in the basin. The result of this service is best explained by the gallant Admiral's official letter :—

*“ Achilles, off Havre de Grace,
July 6, 1759.*

“ SIR,

“ His Majesty's ships and bombs under my command sailed from St. Helen's on the morning of the 2nd instant, and, with a favourable wind and moderate weather, anchored the day following in the Great Road of Havre; when, having made the dispositions to put their Lordships' orders in execution, the bombs proceeded to place themselves in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, it being the most proper and only place to do execution from. About seven in the evening two of the bombs were stationed, as were all the rest early next morning, and continued to bombard for fifty-two hours without intermission, with such success, that the town was several times in flames, and their magazines of stores for the flat-bottomed boats burnt with great fury for upwards of six hours, notwithstanding the continual efforts of several hundred men to extinguish it. Many of the boats were overturned and damaged by the explosion of the shells. During the attack the enemy's troops appeared very numerous, were continually erecting new batteries, and throwing up intrenchments. Their consternation was so great that all the inhabitants forsook the town.

“Notwithstanding this smart bombardment, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the damage done us by the enemy has been very inconsiderable, though numbers of their shot and shells fell and burst among the bombs and boats. I am, &c.

“S. RODNEY.”

After this the Admiral continued to blockade the port of Havre for the remainder of the year, and made numerous captures of neutral ships going to that port with naval and military stores. Thus ended the second part of the enemy's invading project. They hauled their damaged praams up the river, far beyond the reach of our attack, and gave up all further design from this quarter.

A circumstance has been brought to light, by the inquiries that took place on the late committee on the Pension List, which deserves to be universally known, as it laid the foundation of Rodney's future success and reputation; part of the story is mentioned in General Mundy's Life of Rodney. On the list of pensions were the nieces of the Mareschal Duc de Biron. The committee in their report say—“The circumstances which led to this pension are peculiar and most interesting. The ladies who are now entitled to receive this pension are the nieces of the late Mareschal Duc de Biron. At the beginning of the American war, Lord Rodney, being at Paris, was unable to quit that city in consequence of debts which he had contracted. Under these circumstances

the late Mareschal Duc de Biron voluntarily came forward, and advanced a sufficient sum to discharge those engagements, and set Lord Rodney free ; feeling, as was stated, ‘a loyal indignation that any individuals of the French nation should seem to take advantage of the absence of one of their adversary’s best and most valiant commanders, in consequence of the circumstances in which he was unfortunately placed.’ Lord Rodney returned to London, and was appointed commander-in-chief on the Leeward Island station in 1779. It is stated in the Life of Lord Rodney, that, after the victory of the 12th April (1782), the population of Paris exhibited the utmost resentment and indignation against the Mareschal Duc de Biron, vehemently reproaching him for having brought the calamity upon his country, and even proceeding to threats of personal violence ; to which the Mareschal replied, that he gloried in the man whose liberty he had effected, and in the victory which he had so nobly won.

“ Many years afterwards, the nieces of the Duc de Biron being at Windsor, his late Majesty, King George III., commanded that they should be introduced to him, and personally conferred this pension upon them ; wishing, as he stated, by such means, to pay the debt of gratitude which England owed to the family of the Mareschal Duc de Biron.”

If this pension had been taken away, as one or two members of the committee wished it to be, this coun-

try would have stood disgraced in the eyes of all Europe; but, thanks to the honest and right-minded feeling of a great majority of the committee, such a disgrace has happily been avoided.

After the destruction of the preparations at Havre by Rodney, the next step was, as a matter of the first importance, to prevent the junction of the Toulon fleet, under M. de la Clue, with that at Brest under M. Conflans. For this purpose, Vice-Admiral Brodrick was ordered with a squadron to proceed off Toulon, where he was joined, on the 16th May, by Admiral Boscawen, whose fleet then amounted to thirteen sail-of-the-line, two fifties, and ten or twelve frigates. Having kept this station till the beginning of July, and seeing no prospect of the French fleet coming out while he remained before Toulon, he proceeded to Salo bay to water and refresh the crews, after which he retired to Gibraltar, placing a ship on each side of the eastern entrance of the Strait, to give notice of the approach of the enemy, should he venture out. On the 17th August the Gibraltar discovered the French fleet close to the Barbary coast, consisting of eleven sail-of-the-line, two fifties, and two frigates. At seven the next morning Boscawen got sight of seven of the enemy's ships to the westward, and made the signal for a general chase. Our ships came up fast with the enemy, and at two in the afternoon the headmost commenced a close action; soon after the engagement became general. Admiral Boscawen in

the *Namur* attacked *M. de la Clue* in the Ocean; but the *Namur*, after about half an hour's engagement had her mizenmast and both topsail-yards shot away, and thus disabled, was thrown out of the action. When *De la Clue* perceived this, he made an attempt to get away, with his squadron, setting all the sail they could carry; the *Centaure*, however, having lost her fore and main-topmasts, was obliged to strike, after standing the brunt of the battle. The moment that the *Namur* fell astern, *Boscawen* got into his barge and rowed with all possible haste on board the *Newark*, hoisted his flag in her, and pursued the enemy, till he lost sight of them in the night. In the morning four sail only were visible. On coming up with them, the *Ocean* ran among the breakers; and the Admiral sent the *American* and *Intrepid* to destroy her. *M. de la Clue*, with one leg broken and the other wounded, had been carried on shore, and soon after died of his wounds: the *Ocean* was set on fire. The *Warspite* was ordered to proceed against the *Téméraire*, at anchor, and brought her off. Vice-Admiral *Brodrick* and his division engaged two other ships, and captured the *Modeste* of sixty-four guns. The *Redoubtable* of seventy-four guns, being bilged, was set on fire. Our loss amounted to fifty-six men killed and one hundred and ninety-six wounded.

The result then of this running fight was, three line-of-battle ships captured, the *Centaure*, *Téméraire*,

and Modeste, and two destroyed, the Ocean and Redoubtable. Boscawen used every possible exertion to bring the whole of De la Clue's fleet to action, and was not well pleased that the conduct of some of the captains did not correspond with his own. He was heard to say, the day after the battle, "It is well, but it might have been a great deal better." He sent his captain, Buckle, home with an account of his success. He was most graciously received by the King, who ordered him a present of 500*l.* to buy a sword. The Admiral soon followed, leaving a great part of the squadron under Vice-Admiral Brodrick, who, conformably with his orders, repaired off the port of Cadiz to block up that portion of De la Clue's squadron that had taken shelter there. The King was highly pleased with the conduct of Boscawen, and showed him many tokens of his regard. He was sworn in of the most honourable Privy Council, and the three prizes were added to the royal navy by their proper names.

But the greatest blow of all, and that which annihilated the grand project, and extinguished the hopes of the enemy, in their view of retaliation, was struck by the gallant Sir Edward Hawke. This excellent officer, while he blockaded Brest, detached small squadrons from his fleet to watch the proceedings of the French in the several ports along the western coast, and prevent their ships-of-war from venturing out; the trading ships that did so, and many of

those returning from abroad, were sure to be captured. A squadron under Cominodore Duff closely blocked up the ships and transports in the Morbihan ; a powerful detachment under Commodore Keppel was sent to Basque Roads ; and another, under Commodore Sir Piercy Brett, was stationed in the Downs to watch the movements of the enemy, which, however, by the able disposition of Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, and the vigilance of his officers, they never once attempted to make.

On the 9th November a violent gale of wind from the westward compelled Sir Edward Hawke to quit his station, and take refuge in Torbay. During his absence M. de Bompart, with his returning squadron and convoy, got safe into Brest, instead of falling into our hands, as he certainly would have done, had the British fleet been able to keep its station a few days longer. The blockade of Brest has always been attended with this advantage in favour of the French :—the same wind that forces the blockading squadron to retire from the coast, is a fair wind for carrying the enemy's fleets in ; and, on the contrary, when the blockading squadron is driven from the coast, or obliged to seek shelter in Torbay, the blockaded fleet can slip out the moment the weather moderates, and before ours can resume their station. As usual, it so happened on the present occasion. M. de Conflans, judging, from the violence of the gale, that the British fleet had been forced to seek shelter, ventured out

from his long confinement, on the 14th November; and on the same day Sir Edward Hawke put to sea from Torbay.

On the following morning, having fallen in with the Gibraltar, Sir Edward was informed that the French fleet had sailed, and were seen steering S. E., in the direction of the island of Belleisle: he immediately crowded all sail, and stood in the same direction, not doubting that the object of Conflans was to release the ships in the Morbihan, blockaded by Commodore Duff. Contrary winds retarded his progress till the 19th, when, on becoming fair, he ordered two frigates to go a-head of the fleet, and to keep a good look-out, one on the starboard, the other on the larboard quarter. On the morning of the 20th he sent the *Magnanime*, Captain Lord Howe, a-head to make the land. A little after eight, the *Maidstone* made the signal for a fleet in sight, and soon after the *Magnanime* signalled that they were enemies. Of the conflict that followed, many and various details have been published, but Sir Edward Hawke's official despatch is so clear, that the whole transaction is brought under the eye of the reader. An abstract will here suffice.

Conflans, on discovering the English fleet, after some confusion endeavoured to form a line, but, finding seven of the British ships advancing, he made off; these were the *Magnanime*, *Revenge*, *Torbay*, *Montague*, *Resolution*, *Swiftsure*, and *De-*

fiance. At half past two these seven ships engaged the rear of Conflans' fleet. About four the Formidable, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral M. de Verger, struck to the Resolution; soon after the *'Thésée*, engaged with the *Magnanime*, and afterwards by the *Torbay*, sunk; the *Superbe* also went to the bottom, both it was supposed by persevering to keep open their lower-deck ports. The crews of both perished, with the exception of some twenty or thirty men, picked up the next morning on the spars of the wreck. The *Héros* struck to the *Magnanime*, but the weather was so bad she could not be taken possession of, and both she and the *Soleil Royal*, Conflans' flag-ship, ran on shore in the night; the *Essex* and *Resolution*, in following them, also got on shore, and, being irrecoverably lost, were set fire to by the Admiral's order. The *Soleil Royal* was also set on fire by the French, and the *Héros* shared the same fate by our own people. In the night the enemy's fleet dispersed, some standing away to the southward, and seven of their ships, after lightening themselves by throwing guns and heavy articles overboard, got into the river *Villaine*, over the bar, and too high up to be reached either by shot from bombs, or by fire-ships; but three of them only ever got out, the rest, being much damaged and lying on shore, were broken up. Sir Edward observes that the loss of the two ships (*Essex* and *Resolution*) has been owing to the weather, not the enemy. "Our loss," he says, "by the

enemy, is not considerable, for in the ships that are now with me, I find only one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines killed, and about two hundred and two wounded. When I consider the season of the year, the hard gales of wind on the day of action, a flying enemy, the shortness of the day, and the coast we were on, I can boldly affirm that all, that could possibly be done, has been done. As to the loss we have sustained, let it be placed to the account of the necessity I was under of running all risks to break this strong force of the enemy. Had we had two hours more daylight, the whole had been totally destroyed or taken, for we were almost up with their van when night overtook us."

The enemy's ship *Le Héros* having struck to Lord Howe, Sir Edward sent his lordship with a letter to the Duc d'Aiguillon, in which he says, "I therefore claim the officers and men as prisoners, and expect, from your Grace's known honour, that they will be immediately delivered up to me." They had all got on shore, and the duke seemed not disposed to give them up. Sir Edward in his second letter therefore says, "I can only assure your Grace that, had a captain of a British man-of-war under my command begged quarter, and surrendered to the French, and afterwards run away with his ship, in open breach of the rules of war, I would immediately have delivered up the commander to have been treated as the forfeiture of his honour deserved. The

same I should have expected from the Duc d'Aiguillon, if I did not consider him as the subject of a state in which the will of the monarch constitutes right and wrong."

Sir Edward Hawke sent his captain, Campbell, with the news of this discomfiture of Conflans' fleet. The joy of the nation on the receipt of it was at its height. The idea of invasion, if any still remained in the public mind, now entirely vanished, and nothing but bonfires, illuminations, and general rejoicings, were exhibited in every part of the kingdom. The King received Captain Campbell most graciously, and ordered 500*l.* for a sword to be given to him for bringing the joyful intelligence.* On Sir Edward Hawke's return to England, the first day he attended in his place in the House of Commons, the

* The following anecdote is related of this honest Scotchman :— Lord Anson, when taking him in his carriage to the King, said, " Campbell, the King will certainly knight you, if you think proper." " Troth, my Lord," said the captain, who retained his Scotch dialect as long as he lived, " I ken nae use that will be to me." " But your lady may like it," replied his lordship. " Weel, then," rejoined Campbell, " his Majesty may knight her, if she pleases." He afterwards acted as first captain to Keppel, who was much attached to him, in the action of 1770; attained the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Red in 1787; and died in December, 1790. " He preserved," says Charnock, " his original simplicity of manners till his death, notwithstanding he lived among, and mixed with, the first people in the kingdom; but he had, withal, a dry, sarcastic mode of expression, as well as manner, which approached so near to that in which Mr. Macklin played the character of Sir Archy M'Sarcasm, that I have often thought that excellent actor must have seen and copied him."

This Campbell has frequently been mistaken for the midshipman Alexander Campbell, of the *Wager*, wrecked in the Pacific.

Speaker thus addressed him in the following neat and most appropriate speech :—

“ **SIR EDWARD HAWKE**, The House has unanimously resolved that their thanks be given to you for the late signal victory obtained by you over the French fleet.

“ You are now, Sir, happily returned to your country, after a long, but most important service, and returned victorious and triumphant, and full of honour. You meet the applause of your countrymen in their minds and hearts, and which they had manifested before, in all outward demonstrations of public joy and congratulation.

“ Your expedition was for the nearest and most affecting concern to us—the immediate defence of his Majesty’s kingdoms against an enraged and disappointed enemy, meditating, in their revenge our destruction at once. Your trust, therefore, Sir, was of the highest nature ; but to which your characters of courage, fidelity, vigilance, and abilities were known to be equal. You soon freed us from our fears ; and having answered all our hopes, that bravery and conduct could give, or turbulent seas and seasons admit of—even the last did not disturb or diminish your spirit and vigour. You have overawed the enemy in their ports, in their chief naval force ; till shame, perhaps, or desperation brought them forth, at last you fought them, subdued them, and in their confusion and dismay, made those, who would escape, to seek their security in flight and disgrace.

“ Thus their long preparing invasion was then broken and dispelled ; and which cannot but bring to our remembrance the design and the fate of another armada, in a former age of glory, whose defeat was at that time the safety of England, and the lasting renown of the English navy.

“ These, Sir, are your late eminent services to your

king and country, and have been now enumerated, not from any imagination that they are unknown anywhere, or can ever be forgotten, but that your presence with us makes them to rise, with their first strength, in our thoughts, as the recounting of them must give us a fresh spirit of joy in our acknowledgements of them. Our acknowledgements, then, Sir, you have for these past services: permit us to add to our expectations, too, of what may be your future merit, in defence of the rights and honour of your country, wherever you shall again command.

“ It is a very pleasing office to me to convey these thanks of the House to you ; and I do give you, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, their thanks for the late signal victory obtained by you over the French fleet.”

To this most gracious speech Sir Edward replied briefly, and with much modesty observed, “ I own myself greatly at a loss, as to the proper manner of acknowledging the great honour conferred on me by this august House, in their distinguished approbation of my conduct on the 20th November last. In doing my utmost, I only did the duty I owed to my king and country, which ever has been, and shall be, my greatest ambition to perform faithfully and honestly, to the best of my ability.”

For this signal service the king bestowed on him a pension of 2000*l.* on the Irish establishment, for his own life, and that of his sons ; and when he waited on his Majesty he was received with the most distinguished marks of favour, and with thanks for the great service he had done for his country.

During the long blockade of Brest and the ports of the Channel, supplies of fresh provisions and vegetables had been sent out to the fleet; but the bad weather, and gales of wind, which succeeded the defeat of Conflans, made it impossible to continue them with the same regularity as before, and the men were obliged to be put on short allowance. All this was taken in good humour, as the occasion of it was well understood by the seamen; but it gave rise to the following witty epigram:—

Ere Hawke did bang
Monsieur Conflans,
You sent us beef and beer:
Now Monsieur's beat,
We've nought to eat,
Since you have nought to fear.

Sir Edward Hawke had no great affection for fighting in line of battle, and he was probably right. There never was, and, perhaps, never will be, a decisive battle fought where the line on both sides is preserved, or attempted to be preserved. Such a battle is little more than a sort of field-day: the two lines proceed parallel to each other at a certain distance, within cannon-shot, fire at each other in passing, tack or wear, or wheel round, going through the same process, consuming daylight in their several manœuvres, and separating, each their own way in the evening. It is absolutely necessary that a large fleet should form the line, in order to keep the ships together, and each in its own divi-

sion, that the Commander-in-Chief may know where to find them ; but Hawke, like Nelson, thought only of attacking the first ship of his opponent he might be able to come up with. The plan of Rodney, Howe, St. Vincent, and Nelson, dashing through the enemy's line, and throwing it into confusion, and then attacking ship to ship, is the sure way of arriving at a decisive result. Mr. Charles Dupin, who knows more of naval matters than most of the French officers, and is now in the department of the minister of marine, successfully ridicules what he terms " the pious respect of his countrymen for the sacred order of the line of battle," to which he says, " the combined fleets were sacrificed at Trafalgar." While Nelson advanced in two close columns, to overwhelm the centre of this " sacred line," the two wings remained immovable : they were " in line," (he says,) " and that was enough ; and in this position they looked on, ' avec une effrayante impassibilité,' until the centre was destroyed—then, and not till then, forgetting all respect for the sacred order of the line, they thought, not of seeking to remedy any part of the evil, but of making their escape."

Rear-Admiral Durell, who, after the reduction of Louisburg, retired with his squadron to Halifax, put to sea in the spring of the year, with the view of intercepting any supplies which the French might send out for the garrison of Quebec. Rear-Admiral Holmes was sent from England, early in the spring, with a reinforcement to join Rear-Admiral Durell ;

and as the enemy had been so completely subdued at home, the government determined to strike a blow at their foreign possessions ; and with this view Admiral Sir Charles Saunders was despatched from England in the *Neptune*, of ninety guns, to take command of the fleet in North America ; and, in conjunction with the land-forces under Major-General Wolfe, who embarked with him, to lay siege to Quebec. Having touched at Louisburg, and the General and troops having re-embarked, a junction was formed with the ships assembled, under the command of Rear-Admiral Durell, when the combined fleets amounted to twenty sail-of-the-line, two fifties, and thirteen frigates, besides sloops, bombs, and fire-ships.

The appointment by Mr. Pitt of so young a major-general as Wolfe, to command the land-forces, caused much the same kind of jealousy and displeasure in the army, as was felt by the navy when Anson first gave the command of a powerful squadron to Hawke ; but the result proved how well the two ministers knew the men they selected for their respective commands. The same thing happened afterwards, when Lord St. Vincent gave to Nelson the Mediterranean command. Sir John Orde was indignant at being passed over, and wrote a remonstrance to Lord Spencer, sending, very properly, a copy of it to Lord St. Vincent. The Earl told him in reply, “ that those who are responsible for measures have an undoubted right to appoint

the men they prefer to carry them into execution." It may here be noticed that, in February, 1755, Mr. Jervis received his first commission as lieutenant from Lord Anson, who also placed him on the present occasion in the Neptune.

On the 1st June the expedition left Louisburg, and on the 23rd the whole fleet got up to the Island of Codré, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where they found Rear-Admiral Durell and his squadron. Sir Charles hoisted his flag in the Stirling Castle, and, with the fleet and troops, proceeded higher up the Gulf, and on the 26th anchored off the Island of Orleans. General Monckton took up a post at Point Levi, to dislodge the enemy from thence, who, on the 1st July, sent down from Quebec three floating batteries, with which they cannonaded this post, till driven away by Captain Lindsay of the Trent. General Wolfe visited Levi, and caused batteries to be erected for cannonading Quebec across the river. Returning to Orleans, he embarked the army on the 9th July, and early in the morning made a descent on the north shore, below the falls of Montmorenci, under cover of the Porcupine sloop and Boscawen armed ship. Sir Charles had appointed Lieut. Jervis (afterwards Lord St. Vincent) to command the Porcupine, and here commenced a friendship between Wolfe and him, two congenial spirits, which was, alas! too soon destined to cease.

The detail of the operations are clearly and dis-

tinctly stated by General Wolfe, in a letter to Mr. Pitt, of the 3rd September; and those of the navy equally so by Sir Charles Saunders to the same minister. A few extracts from the latter will suffice. Having mentioned that, on the 28th June, at midnight, the enemy sent down from Quebec seven fire-ships, he observes, that though our ships and transports were so numerous, and necessarily spread over so great a part of the Channel, they were all towed clear, and ran aground, without any part of the fleet receiving the least damage from them; and on the 20th July he adds,—“At midnight the enemy sent down a raft of fire-stages, of near a hundred radeaux, which succeeded no better than their fire-ships.”

On the 5th August, in the night, the admiral despatched twenty flat-boats up the river, to embark twelve hundred and sixty of the troops, with Brigadier-General Murray; and also sent up Admiral Holmes to act in concert with him, who was ordered to use his best endeavours to get at and destroy the enemy's ships above the town. “The enemy,” Sir Charles says, “appears to be numerous, and to be strongly posted; but let the event be what it will, we shall remain here as long as the season of the year will permit, in order to prevent their detaching troops from hence against General Amherst. The town of Quebec is not habitable, being almost entirely burnt and destroyed. I should have written to you sooner from hence; but while my despatches

were preparing, General Wolfe was taken very ill: he has been better since, but is still greatly out of order."

This sickness of Wolfe created, among the troops, as great uneasiness as that which was occasioned, in the public mind at home, by the receipt of the despatches, in which the difficulties and delay were described as far beyond what had been anticipated. On his return to the camp a universal joy was felt in the whole army; and the General formed his plan, in concert with the Admiral, for striking the decisive blow. On the 12th September, all being ready, Wolfe issued a general order to the troops, which thus concludes:—"The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing against five weak French battalions, mingled with disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty." It would be out of place here to enter upon a detail of the landing, and the disposition of the troops, and of the several regiments that composed the two lines and the reserve: it is sufficient to state that, on the morning of the 13th, the two armies under Wolfe and Montcalm, respectively, were in motion: the French having advanced briskly within musket-shot, began to fire, but the British troops reserved theirs until the enemy had approached within thirty yards. They then kept up their fire

with such effect, that the enemy gave way, and our men, under cover of the smoke, pursued and charged them with fixed bayonets. At this time General Wolfe, exerting himself at the head of the Louisburg Grenadiers, received his mortal wound; and M. de Montcalm was also mortally wounded, and carried off the field. The command now devolved on Brigadier Townsend. Sir Charles Saunders had already brought up his large ships with the intention of attacking the town, which being perceived by the governor of Quebec, he sent out, on the 17th, a flag of truce, with offers to surrender; and terms of capitulation were soon agreed upon.

General Townsend, in his letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt, says—"I should not do justice to the admirals and the naval service, if I neglected this occasion of acknowledging how much we are indebted for our success to the constant assistance and support received from them, and the perfect harmony and correspondence which have prevailed throughout all our operations;—in the uncommon difficulties which the nature of this country, in particular, presents to military operations of a great extent, and which no army of itself can solely supply; the immense labour in artillery, stores, and provisions; the long watchings and attendance in boats; the drawing up our artillery by the seamen, even in the heat of action. It is my duty, short as my command has been, to acknowledge, for that time, how great a share the navy has had in this successful campaign."

Vice-Admiral Saunders sent home Captain James Douglas, accompanied by Brigadier-General Townsend and Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, with the news of this important conquest. His Majesty received them most graciously, and, according to his custom, ordered that each of them should be presented with 500*l.* to purchase a sword. Captain Douglas was also knighted, and Colonel Hale had a regiment of dragoons given to him. His Majesty received addresses from the city of London, and various other corporations, congratulating him on this important victory.

The season drawing near to a close, Sir Charles Saunders sent home the ships of the line under Rear-Admirals Holmes and Durell; and, on the 18th October, followed them in the Somerset, taking with him the Devonshire and Vanguard, leaving Lord Colville in the command of his Majesty's naval forces in America. The gallant admiral, on his arrival in the chops of the Channel, hearing that the French fleet, under M. de Conflans, had put to sea in great force, and that Sir Edward Hawke was in pursuit of it, instantly directed his course, with his three ships of the line, to Quiberon Bay, as a reinforcement to Sir Edward Hawke; but soon after, hearing of the defeat of the French, steered for Portsmouth.

When Parliament met, Mr. Secretary Pitt, in a most eloquent speech, set forth in glowing terms the various and brilliant successes of the late campaign, and the very great merit of the naval

and military officers by whom they were accomplished. The panegyric he passed on the immortal Wolfe convinced his audience that what he said came from the heart ; but when he attempted to sum up his virtues, and the loss which the country had sustained in the death of so brave and accomplished an officer, a burst of sympathy was manifested such as rarely occurs in that House. He concluded by moving an address to his Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to order a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of Major-General James Wolfe. After which, thanks were returned to the surviving generals and admirals, who had been employed in the glorious and successful expedition against Quebec.

Walpole will not admit that Pitt made any impression on the House. He says the parallels which he drew from Greek and Roman story did but flatten the pathetic of the topic ; but that Mr. Pitt himself had done more for Britain than any orator for Rome. "The horror of the night, the precipice scaled by Wolfe, the empire he, with a handful of men, added to England, and the glorious catastrophe of contentedly terminating life where his fame began—ancient story may be ransacked and ostentatious philosophy thrown into the account, before an episode can be found to rank with Wolfe's."—"Pitt then moved," he continues, "in general words, for thanks to the generals and admirals ; mentioned them all,

particularly Admiral Saunders, whose merits, he said, had equalled those who have beaten armadas—‘May I anticipate?’ cried he—‘those who *will* beat armadas!’”*

Walpole, for once, has given a most faithful and well-deserved panegyric of one of the best and bravest men that ever adorned the annals of the British navy. “Mr. Pitt’s anticipation,” he says, “of Saunders’ renown *was* prophetic. That admiral was a pattern of most steady bravery, united with the most unaffected modesty. No man said less or deserved more. Simplicity in his manners, generosity and good-nature adorned his genuine love of his country. His services at Quebec had been eminent. Returning thence he heard that M. Conflans had taken the opportunity of Sir Edward Hawke’s retiring to Gibraltar to refit, and had sailed out of Brest. Saunders, who heard the news at Plymouth, far from thinking he had done enough, turned back instantaneously, and sailed to assist Hawke. His patriotism dictated that step, and would not wait for other orders. He arrived too late; but a moment so embraced could not be accounted lost.”†

Nothing can be more true or more just than this panegyric. No two men were ever found in manners, sentiments, and habits more congenial than Anson and Saunders. But it is provoking enough

* Walpole’s Memoirs of the last Ten Years of George II. † Ib.

that, though in constant correspondence with each other, there is scarcely a scrap of writing to be found of either; they exchanged portraits, and these are the only memorials left in the two families to remind them of their early and lasting friendship. To Saunders' protection Anson committed the Earl of St. Vincent, after giving him, as already stated, his first commission; he was with him at the siege of Quebec; was appointed by acting order to a sloop; confirmed by Anson, who shortly after gave him his captain's commission; and thus was the navy indebted to Anson for one of its greatest and best officers.

Lord Anson, being most desirous that some distinguished mark of approbation should be conferred on those brave officers, who had rendered to the state such brilliant services; and the Admiralty, having no other means of rewarding such services but by the ordinary routine of promotion, which was very much circumscribed in those days, Anson, on consultation with the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, obtained their ready assent to a measure by which a mark of distinction, as well as an office of emolument, would be bestowed on a very small number of officers, who should be deemed worthy of it. The following extract from the Order in Council, authorising the appointments in question will best explain their nature. The memorial states, that—

“ Having taken into our consideration the present state of the marine forces, which your Majesty has been pleased to

commit to our management, we beg leave humbly to observe, that since the first establishment of fifty companies of one hundred private men each, they are now augmented, by your Majesty's several Orders in Council, to one hundred and thirty companies of one hundred and twenty-three private men in each, and at present amount in the whole to eighteen thousand and ninety-two men, commission and non-commission officers included, of which there are only ten field-officers—viz., one colonel, three lieutenant-colonels, and six majors. This great increase of the number, we apprehend, will make it necessary, in order to preserve discipline and regularity amongst so great a body of men, that we should have some officers of rank in the navy to assist us therein, who may frequently review them both afloat and ashore, to see they are kept in constant order for service, and regularly provided with clothing, arms, and accoutrements; likewise to inquire into the conduct and behaviour of the officers, and make their report to us, that we may be enabled to lay the same before your Majesty whenever there may be occasion. We do, therefore, most humbly propose, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased, for the aforesaid purposes, to authorise and empower the Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, or the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, now, and for the time being, to appoint two of the flag-officers of your Majesty's fleet to be general officers of your marine-forces, in the following manner—viz., one general of the marines, with the pay of 5*l*. a-day, and one lieutenant-general at 4*l*.”*

And, on the 1st February, 1760, a further memorial was presented to the King in Council, stating—

* Order in Council of 9th November, 1759.

“ This great body of marine forces, amounting to upwards of eighteen thousand men, are directed to be quartered, when on shore, at the established head-quarters at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham, or in the neighbourhood of those places ; and though we apprehend that the proper direction and superintendence of those head-quarters are of the greatest importance to the discipline and good government of those forces, yet, from the present low establishment of field-officers, each of those stations can only be put under the immediate care of an officer of no higher rank than a lieutenant-colonel ; we therefore humbly submit to your Majesty, whether, instead of having one colonel of marines resident in London, as at present, it will not be for the advantage of the service to have three colonels of marines with the pay of forty shillings a-day to each, in lieu of all other profits or allowances, and to allot to them severally the care, inspection, and command of the three established head-quarters.

“ And if your Majesty should be pleased to appoint officers of the rank and authority of colonels, we also beg leave to suggest, that it appears from the ancient establishment of marine forces, and particularly from certain regulations made in Council soon after the Revolution, that the colonels, but none other of the officers, might be sea-commanders : we therefore humbly submit to your Majesty, whether it may not be for the advantage of your maritime service, and likewise a just and well-timed encouragement to your sea-officers, so far to revive the ancient establishment as to appoint three captains in your Majesty navy to be colonels of marines, at the before-mentioned established head-quarters ; and that, whenever the said three captains, or either of them, may be promoted to the rank of flag-officers,

other captains in your navy be appointed colonels of marines in their room ; and the said flag-officers not to be permitted to continue in this station after such their promotion, but to act in their superior rank of admirals."

The additional division of marines at Woolwich was established by his Majesty's Order in Council of 15th August, 1805, upon an augmentation of ten men to each company of the marine corps ; upon which occasion an additional naval Colonel of marines was appointed.

In consequence of the order in council first mentioned, the Board of Admiralty, to mark and reward the services of certain meritorious officers, appointed Admiral Boscawen, General of Marines ; Vice-Admiral Sir C. Saunders, Lieutenant-General ; and Sir Piercy Brett, the Hon. Augustus Keppel, and Lord Viscount Howe, Colonels of Marines.

It was not until July, 1794, that a Major-General was added to the marines, and Vice-Admiral Sir Alan Gardner was the flag-officer appointed.

As these appointments were, in their origin, *really*, and clearly understood to be, though not *ostensibly*, the rewards of great public service, in a profession where, generally speaking, pecuniary emoluments are small and their augmentation purely incidental, and that there are no regiments nor governments, nor any other little sinecures to give away, as in the army, the wisdom, or the policy, of abolishing these seven marine appointments seems

very questionable, when it is considered that the very salvation of Great Britain and her dominions depends on the navy. There was no pretence whatever of any abuse or favouritism in the distribution of those rewards; not a single undeserving or objectionable officer had been selected for the seventy years and upwards that the boon had been in existence; but they were *sinécures*, and the sacrifice was made to the *name*, but fell on the navy, to stifle a clamour for *economy*—a word much abused, and sometimes very ill applied. It is true the emoluments of these marine appointments have been reserved to the navy, and spread over a larger surface, under the name of “Good Service Pensions.” The number of course is increased, and if confined within a certain seniority, so will be the difficulty of selecting the most proper objects.

The selection made by Lord Anson merited and received high approbation, and served as an example for future Boards of Admiralty to follow, and it is but justice to say, they did follow it.

The brilliant successes of the campaign of 1759 were not confined to America, nor to the western fleet. Commodore Moore, who commanded a squadron of frigates on the Leeward Island station, having received a reinforcement from England, with a body of troops under the command of Major-General Hopson, it was resolved to make a joint expedition against the island of Martinique, which,

however, proved too strong for them. They therefore proceeded against Guadaloupe, and this island, after a brave and gallant resistance on the part of the enemy, of more than three months' duration, capitulated ; and the islands of Marigalante, the Saints, Descada, and Petite-Terre, soon followed its example. In the East Indies, Admiral Pocock, with nine ships of the line, one of them, the Cumberland (a weak ship, reduced from sixty-six to fifty-eight guns) attacked M. D'Aché, the best officer that had appeared in the Indian seas, with eleven sail-of-the-line, all of them superior, not only in guns and men, but also in size of ships and weight of metal. The engagement was long, and gallantly fought on both sides : the British ships suffered much, chiefly in masts and yards, against which the aim of the French is always directed ; and the battle ended by M. D'Aché retreating, and leaving Pocock in possession of the field only, no captures having been made. The severity of the action may be judged of by the killed and wounded, which, in the British fleet, amounted to five hundred and sixty-nine, and in that of the enemy to nearly fifteen hundred. Two of our captains were killed, and two wounded, and in the list were several inferior officers. The Governor and council of Madras, in their letter to the Admiral, say, " The warm fire you sustained for two hours with seven ships against eleven, and obliging them, at last, to make their retreat, will do immortal honour to you

and to Mr. (Rear-Admiral) Stevens and all the brave officers who had the happiness to serve under you." It has been remarked as an extraordinary circumstance, and one that shows the singular talents of each of these commanders-in-chief, "that they had fought three pitched battles in the course of eighteen months, without the loss of a ship on either side." On Pocock reaching home the following year, he was honoured with the military Order of the Bath, and promoted to the rank of Admiral of the Blue.

In closing the brief narrative of the bustling and glorious events of this year, a letter from Lord Hardwicke may here be introduced—the last in date of the series in Anson's collection—it is curious, as showing how well a shrewd and clever man, like the ex-chancellor, knows how to manage a tardy and timid prime minister, and frighten him into a compliance with his wishes. The immediate agent to be employed was Anson.

" Grosvenor Square, November 14th, 1759.

" MY DEAR LORD—I have been reflecting upon what passed between your lordship and me last night, and I have judged it necessary to give you this trouble. I wish you could make it convenient to you to see the Duke of Newcastle this forenoon, either at Newcastle House (which would be best) or else at court, before the House of Lords comes with their address. I beg further that you would tell him something of what passed between us two last

night, and tell him as many of the strong things, which I said, as you can recollect ; the stronger you represent them the better ; that, from what his grace said to your lordship, I feared his various occupations had not allowed him time to consider my letter from Wimpole of the first of this month by Barnesley ; that, as to what is passed, I was only confirmed in the same opinion, which is there expressed at large. But my desire is to look *forwards*, which, in general, must depend upon events ; that, for the present, my resolution is—*that, until this unhappy affair of Joe* is set right, I will not set my foot within the House of Lords. I will not come near the court, nor hear one word upon any public business ; that, from this resolution, the King's civil list shall not move me.*

“ I think this will alarm his grace ; and the first thing he will think of will be to come to me, either as he comes from St. James's to-day or at night. Both these I would avoid. The first would hurt me in my present state, by keeping me from my dinner ; the last, by keeping me up till midnight. I therefore beg your lordship would, in a kind, confidential way, say to his grace, “ You had better let Charles† and me talk to him before you see him. I found his mind was much agitated and heated ; and he owned it was this hindered his sleeping. We will see him this evening : you need not suspect our blowing him up,—we will only calm and make him more easy.

* Sir Joseph Yorke, the Earl's third son. In 1749 he was secretary to Lord Albemarle's embassy to Paris ; in 1751 minister to the Hague, where he remained twenty-nine years without removal ; but his rank was changed in 1761 for that of *ambassador*.

† Charles Yorke, the second son, who, in the year 1770, was appointed Lord Chancellor, and created Baron of Morden, but died suddenly, while the patent was making out.

“ If I know his grace, he will be thankful for this, and it will bring it to what I have wanted ever since I came to town, to have a full conversation with your lordship, Royston,* and Charles (whom I consider as part of myself, and on whom I can rely), to settle what is fit to be done for my honour and Joe’s interest before I talk with anybody else on the subject. I desire this for two reasons, 1st, the thing is rightest in itself; 2nd, I own I dare not trust myself to an impetuous conversation with the Duke of Newcastle in my present state. I should be in danger of losing my temper, and of hurting the cause, or myself, or both.

“ If this scheme takes place, I wish your lordship could be here between seven and eight this evening, or as much earlier as you please. Let me know if you can, and I will appoint Charles. He may get away early from the serjeant’s feast. If this meeting cannot be to-night, I shall like it as well to-morrow, provided the Duke of Newcastle can be decently kept off in the mean time. Be so good as to let me hear a word from you; forgive this trouble, and,

“ Believe me, &c. &c.

“ LORD ANSON.”

“ HARDWICKE.†

The history of this weighty affair seems to be this : On the 30th October, 1759, Sir Joseph, then minister at the Hague, writes to his father, to state that Lord Holdernesse, the secretary of state, in whose department he was, had taken umbrage at a kind of private correspondence, which Sir Joseph kept up with

* Philip, the eldest son of Lord Hardwicke, and second earl, who married the Marchioness Grey, grand-daughter and heiress of Henry Duke of Kent.

† Anson’s Collection, No. 202.

the Duke of Newcastle, and which enabled the Duke sometimes to anticipate to the King the secretary's official communications. On this provocation, Lord Holderness wrote Sir Joseph so sharp a reprimand, that he felt himself to be in danger, and, at all events, greatly insulted: and the whole house of Yorke, and all their allies, were put into motion to induce the Duke of Newcastle to come forward boldly, and defend "poor Joe," whose only crime was obedience to his grace's commands. The affair at this distance of time seems trifling, but to the parties it was serious, particularly as it was suspected that *Mr. Pitt* egg'd on Lord Holderness, and that the blow was really at the Duke himself, more than at Sir Joseph.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION OF THE SEVEN-YEARS' WAR—DEATH
OF GEORGE II., AND OF LORD ANSON.

The disposition of the fleet for the year 1760—High state of the navy as to ships, officers, and men—The several flag-officers employed—Hawke and Boscawen relieve each other—Death of Boscawen, and character—Capture of the Island Dumet—Anson's instructions to Hawke respecting Belleisle—Death of George II.—Keppel's expedition against that island—its capture—Affairs of North America—Byron sent to demolish the works of Louisburg—Chevalier de Levis appears before Quebec—General Murray goes out to attack him—is obliged to retreat—The fleet arrives, and Levis raises the siege—Montreal taken by General Amherst—French power annihilated in Canada—Overture of peace from France—treacherous intrigue of with Spain—Mr. Pitt's noble conduct—resigns in disgust—Declaration of war against Spain—The war prosecuted with vigour against these combined powers—Disastrous war for Spain—Her register ships taken—The Havannah taken, with fourteen sail-of-the-line—Manilla taken, and ransomed—Disasters of the French, in the capture of Martinique, and several frigates, privateers, and merchant-ships—Both powers humbled and sue for peace—Preliminaries signed in November, 1762, and proclaimed in London in February, 1763—Death of Lord Anson—Letter of the Duke of Newcastle on this occasion.

1760 to 1763.

THE spirit and energy displayed by that great statesman, Mr. Pitt, infused a congenial feeling into the administration, who resolved to follow up the successful blow struck at the enemy both by sea and land. To carry this purpose into effect, it was resolved

that the vote of seamen for the service of this year should be seventy thousand men, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines. There was sound policy in taking this step; for although the victories of Hawke and Boscawen had so much disabled and disheartened the French, as to make it more than probable they would not venture to meet our fleets on the home stations, they might yet endeavour to send out by stealth small squadrons and troops to the East and West Indies, and particularly to Canada, with the hope of regaining possession of the capital and fortress of Quebec. The navy, under the able and vigilant superintendence of Anson, was in its "most high and palmy state," as to ships, officers, and men; all ready for any service that might be required of them. The disposition made of the officers in command was as follows—Admirals Hawke and Boscawen to the Channel fleet, to relieve each other as might be necessary; to take up a station in Quiberon Bay, as a sort of head-quarters; to block up the enemy's ships in the river Vilaine, which had sought refuge there after Conflans' defeat, and to detach squadrons off Brest, L'Orient, and Rochfort, to watch these ports; Sir James Douglas to relieve Commodore Moore at the Leeward Islands; Rear-Admiral Holmes to relieve Vice-Admiral Cotes at Jamaica; and Rear-Admiral Cornish to proceed to the East Indies to reinforce Vice-Admiral Stevens with six

sail-of-the-line. Admiral Rodney to continue to blockade Havre de Grace, and watch the eastern part of the Channel ; and Sir Piercy Brett to command in the Downs.

On the 6th February Admiral Boscawen sailed from Plymouth, with his flag in the Royal William, taking with him Rear-Admiral Geary in the Sandwich, and having under his orders the Ramillies, St. George, Princess Amelia, and Orford. This little squadron was proceeding to relieve Sir Edward Hawke in Quiberon Bay, when a violent gale of wind dispersed the ships, in which the Ramillies, Captain Taylor, in trying to make Plymouth, the weather being thick and hazy, unfortunately passed the port, and got embayed near the Bolt-head, which, mistaking for the Ram-head, she was unable to weather. In this situation the captain ordered the masts to be cut away, and came to anchor ; but the wind was so furious, and the sea ran so high, that the cables parted, the ship was driven among the breakers and dashed to pieces. The whole crew, with the exception of a midshipman and twenty-five men perished. The admiral with the rest of the squadron returned into port in a disabled state.

On the 9th March Admiral Boscawen again sailed for Quiberon Bay, having shifted his flag to the Namur. His fleet now amounted to fourteen sail-of-the-line and nine frigates. Five of these and two frigates were detached by the admiral, under the

command of Sir John Bentley, to proceed off the mouth of the river Vilaine, in order to prevent the enemy's ships there from making their escape. Admiral Boscawen himself lay at anchor, with a part of his fleet, in Quiberon Bay, detaching, as occasion required, small squadrons to reconnoitre Basque Roads, Brest, and L'Orient; and such was the vigilance of our cruisers, that no attempt was yet made on the part of the French to send out squadrons or vessels to carry supplies to their colonies, nor while Boscawen remained on the station; on which he continued till the end of August, when he was relieved by Sir Edward Hawke in the Royal George, having under his command Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, and a fleet of twenty-five sail-of-the-line and twelve frigates; his instructions were similar to those under which Admiral Boscawen had been acting.

The appointment which had just expired was the last service which this gallant officer and accomplished seaman had an opportunity of rendering to his king and country. He returned from it in an impaired state of health, and died at his seat of Hatchland, near Guildford, of a fever, on the 10th January, 1761, in the fiftieth year of his age, universally regretted by his brother officers and the public at large. He was a thorough seaman, strongly attached to his profession, and always ready to quit a life of comparative ease at the Admiralty (of which he continued till his death as one of the Lords Commissioners),

and to engage with alacrity in any service that his colleagues at the Board might require him to undertake. A man of a warm temper, he was extremely benevolent, and, though a strict disciplinarian, was kind and indulgent to the officers and seamen placed under his command. Or, as the monumental inscription by his “once happy wife” informs the reader—

“ With the highest exertions of military greatness,
He united the gentlest offices of humanity.
His concern for the interest, and unwearied
Attention to the health of all under
His command,
Softened the necessary exactions of duty,
And the rigours of discipline,
By the care of a guardian and the tenderness
Of a father.”

He gave a strong proof of this during his last command, by taking possession of a small island in Quiberon Bay, near the mouth of the Vannes, which he caused to be cultivated with vegetables for the use of the men afflicted with scorbutic disorders.

In this year Anson was doomed to experience one of the heaviest afflictions which a domestic man is liable to suffer—the death of Lady Anson—a most amiable and accomplished woman, who expired suddenly, on the 1st June, 1760, as would appear by what follows:—

“ *Admiralty, the 31st May, 1760.*

“ I have the greatest satisfaction in acquainting your Lordship that Lady Anson is quite out of danger, and though

her rash is not all out, she is easier, and to a degree has recovered her sleep and spirits, and desires me to make her dutiful acknowledgments and thanks for your Lordship's very kind and affectionate wishes; and she promises to be very careful of herself for the future. . . . Since I began this letter, Dr. Wilmot thinks Lady Anson has rather more fever than she had in the morning, which, he says, is usual in these cases in the evening, and imagines there is more rash to come out. I don't understand their jargon, and always feel, when I have any of them in the house, as I always did when I had a pilot; being ignorant myself, I always doubted whether my pilot knew as much as he ought to do; but, in both cases, there is nothing else to trust to. I am, my dear Lord, your ever faithful and affectionate servant,

"ANSON."

Lady Anson died next day; and, on this letter, Philip, the second Lord Hardwicke, has written the following notes :—

"N.B. This was a very unhappy affair, and a loss which could not be replaced. We thought Dr. Wilmot had not shown his usual sagacity in the illness. "H."

"Till the death of this poor lady, our family had gone on in an uninterrupted flow of worldly prosperity; since that era we have had our share of private disasters. God's will be done. "H."

Sir Edward Hawke followed up the plan of his predecessor in stationing his cruising squadrons, by which the French ports were completely sealed, and many of their trading ships and privateers cap-

tured. As the Channel fleet was frequently deficient in a supply of fresh water, which was mostly sent from England, and the small island of Dumet, near Quiberon Bay, was known to have plenty of that indispensable article, Sir Edward appointed a small squadron, consisting of the *Magnanime*, *Prince Frederick*, and *Bedford*, under the command of Lord Howe, to get possession of that island, which soon surrendered, on two of the ships being placed against the fort, and firing a few shot. The little garrison was composed of one company of the regiment of *Bourbon*, consisting of fifty-five men, of whom two were killed and six wounded. This capture proved of great service to the fleet on this station during the remainder of the war.

Sir Edward having detached the Hon. Augustus Keppel to make observations on the island of Belle-isle, conformably with an instruction from Lord Anson, and that officer having been sent with his report to the noble lord, it was transmitted to Mr. Pitt; and as this able minister still cherished his favourite scheme of harassing the French coast as much as possible, being, as he always maintained, the surest means of preventing the enemy from supplying the continental army with reinforcements, by keeping them in a constant state of alarm, he readily entered into the plan of making an attack on that island. Anson, however, bearing in mind the disasters of St. Cas, and desirous of obtaining the best

possible information before risking the ships and troops, submitted to Mr. Pitt that Sir Edward Hawke should first be desired, confidentially, to examine the shores of the island himself, to make a detailed report of the accessible points, and the strength of its several defences.

The following is a copy of the memorandum sent by Anson to the gallant admiral:—

“The situation of the King’s affairs in Germany requiring a diversion to be made on the enemy’s coasts, his Majesty’s servants have considered which may be the properest place for that purpose, and examined Mr. Keppel, who, having been lately in the bay, had an opportunity of making the observations, that I send herewith, on part of the coast of the isle of Belleisle, which it is thought may be attacked with the best prospect of success; and the King, as well as his servants, reposing great confidence in you, I have it in command to let you know that a very considerable body of troops, with a train of artillery, are collecting together, and transports getting ready to embark them, whenever it shall be thought proper.

“Wherefore you are desired to use every means in your power to inform yourself how near ships can lie to batter the several works in the sandy bays of Belleisle mentioned by Mr. Keppel, and what depth of water there is close in to the shore, and to ascertain the distance of the citadel from the said sandy bays.

“You will also inform yourself whether troops can be landed at Lomarie or any other parts of the island besides these described in Mr. Keppel’s paper, and how far they may be from the citadel.

“ You will likewise please to learn, whether the enemy’s ships in the river Vilane are disarmed, and, if so, whether their artillery, ammunition, and stores have been sent to Pain-bœuf, or how disposed of.

“ It will also be necessary to know what number of regular troops and militia there may be in the island, and if the town of Palais is fortified; to come at which knowledge I would recommend to you to cause some coasting or fishing vessels belonging to the enemy to be taken, and by every proper means to get the best intelligence you can from them.

“ When you have satisfied yourself with all that is necessary to be known, I must desire you will send me your answer by a good sailing frigate to the first port she can make in England, and to forward the same by express.

“ I hope it is needless for me to repeat the confidence that is reposed in you on this occasion, and the necessity there is for the strictest secrecy.

“ Sir Edward Hawke,

“ ANSON.*

“ 9th October, 1760.”

Sir Edward Hawke found the report of Keppel to be correct, and that the island was attackable from several places. The expedition was accordingly hastened; a body of troops collected at Portsmouth, under the command of Major-General Kingsby, and a squadron under the Hon. Augustus Keppel was appointed to receive them. The expedition was generally supposed to be intended for an attack on the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius. The troops were

* Anson’s Collection.

all embarked, and the fleet ready to put to sea, when the sudden and unexpected death of George II. put an end for the present to its proceeding. His death took place at his palace of Kensington on the 27th October, 1760, in the seventy-seventh year of his age and thirty-third of his reign.*

The only naval and military operations of much importance were confined to North America, where the successes of the preceding year determined the government to follow up the blow by an attack on Montreal, which, with Quebec, would throw the whole of Canada into our possession. With this view Commodore Swanton, with a considerable naval force, and transports to convey stores and provisions, was despatched early in the spring to reinforce the squadron at Halifax. At the same time another small squadron, under the command of Captain

* The account given by Horace Walpole to George Montague is nearly correct, but heartless and indecent, coming from a man who, through Sir Robert Walpole, owed everything he had in the world to the King. "He went to bed," he says, "well last night, rose at six this morning as usual, looked, I suppose, if all his money was in his purse, and called for his chocolate. A little after seven he went into the water-closet; the German valet-de-chambre heard a noise, listened, heard something like a groan, ran in, and found the hero of Oudenarde and Dettingen on the floor, with a gash on his right temple, by falling against the corner of a bureau; he tried to speak, could not, and expired. In another letter he speaks of the vast sums of money left by the King, which turned out to be nothing equal to what Sir Robert Walpole left; but it was the slander of the day; just as, in our time, similar allegations were made against the late excellent Queen Charlotte, who literally left nothing, having bestowed nearly the whole of her allowance in charitable uses.

Byron, was sent to Cape Breton, with orders to destroy the fortifications of Louisburg, and to convey the greater part of the garrison to join General Murray at Quebec. Byron hearing of a small French squadron of three ships of war, with about twenty transports, laden with stores and ammunition for the French army in Canada, having arrived in the bay of Chaleur, proceeded thither, and on entering the bay to attack them, two of them were burnt by their own people, and the third by ours ; he silenced the batteries and destroyed them, together with the whole of the transports. After this he returned to England, on finding that General Murray had been reinforced.

In the mean time the Chevalier de Levis, the successor of M. Montcalm, taking advantage of the absence of the ships of war, on account of the ice in the St. Lawrence, made his appearance before the town with an army composed of regulars, colonial troops, and Canadian militia, amounting altogether to between fourteen and fifteen thousand men. General Murray resolved, imprudently as it was thought and turned out to be, to march out to meet him, with about three thousand men, the flower of his garrison, and twenty field-pieces. But it is stated that, by some fatal mistake, the commanding officer of the artillery placed his guns in a hollow where they could be of no use, and that, by a most unpardonable blunder, the shot brought with the guns would not

fit them, being for nine instead of six-pounders, and therefore of no use. The infantry, left thus without support, were compelled, after a brave resistance, to fall back with considerable loss within the walls. Here the General immediately began to repair and strengthen the works, and in a short time had one hundred and fifty cannon mounted on the ramparts. On the arrival of the fleet the Chevalier de Levis raised the siege, leaving behind him a quantity of baggage, stores of ammunition and provisions, his battering cannon, mortars, and field-pieces.

General Murray now left Quebec to join the army under Lord Amherst, who, after various operations both on the shore and the river, and negociations with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Montreal, and with it all Canada, surrendered to General Amherst, on the 8th September, on such terms as he thought proper to dictate to the Marquis. The French power being thus annihilated in North America, Lord Colville, who commanded the naval forces, ordered such of his squadron as might be wanted to proceed to the West Indies, and the rest to England.

The accession of George III. was not immediately followed by any change in the administration, nor in the measures intended to be pursued. The same number of seamen and marines were voted for the year 1761 as in the preceding. The Channel fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, kept its station through the winter in Quiberon Bay, and

continued successfully to block up the enemy's ships in the river Tlame until the 2nd January, 1761, when by the favour of a very dark night and blowing weather, they took the opportunity to slip out, and though closely pursued by Captain Gambier, effected their escape into Brest. Sir Edward Hawke, therefore, considering so large a fleet no longer necessary in Quiberon Bay, returned to England early in March, leaving a sufficient number of ships to watch the enemy's motions along the ports of the western coast.

The secret expedition, which had been postponed by the King's death, was now ready to proceed; and on the 23rd March the Hon. Commadore Keppel, with a squadron of ten sail-of-the-line, eight frigates and smaller vessels, and with transports conveying about ten thousand men, under Major-General Hodgson, put to sea, and on the 6th April came in sight of the island of Belleisle, against which they were designed to act. They found, on approaching the coast, that intrenchments and batteries had been raised, since the commodore's former visit, at every place where a landing was thought practicable; and a strong garrison was placed in the fort of Palais, under the command of the Chevalier de St. Croix, a very gallant and skilful officer. Having fixed on three several landing-places, the troops destined to act at each of them, covered by the fire kept up incessantly from the ships of war, made good their

landing, and a part of them maintained themselves on the island, while others were compelled by superior numbers to retreat. At length, after much fighting, and the English gaining post by post, the Chevalier, by lighting a fire on the top of the hill, summoned all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms to repair into the citadel of Palais, which he resolved to defend to the last.

It was the 2nd May before our batteries opened upon the town of Palais, and on the 7th June, when General Hodgson was prepared to storm the place, the Chevalier de St. Croix sent out a flag of truce to offer a capitulation. In consideration of the gallant defence made by the garrison, they were allowed all the honours of war, and to be sent to France. This siege cost the enemy 922 men killed and wounded ; and to the British the loss was 13 officers and 300 men killed, with 21 officers and about 480 men wounded. After this the commodore detached a small squadron of ships of the line to Basque Roads, to attack any of the enemy's ships that might be there, and to demolish the fortifications on the Isle d'Aix.

In the Mediterranean the cruisers under Sir Charles Saunders were particularly active. The *Isis*, after a smart action, took *L'Oriflamme*, of fifty guns, and three hundred and seventy men ; but Captain Wheeler, a midshipman, and quartermaster, were killed in the early part of the engagement. The *Thunderer*,

Captain Proby, engaged L'Achille, of sixty-four guns, and six hundred men, which, after a gallant resistance of half an hour, struck. The Thetis engaged L'Achille's companion, Le Bouffon, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and ten men, which also struck. A number of merchant ships and small armed vessels were captured in the course of the year, but nothing like a fleet or squadron ventured to show itself upon the sea. In the Leeward Islands, Commodore Sir James Douglas, being joined by four sail-of-the-line and three frigates, with a body of troops from North America, under the command of Lord Rollo, proceeded on the 4th June to attack the island of Dominica, which, after a short resistance, surrendered. On the Jamaica station several captures were made, and, among others, the St. Anne, a new sixty-four gun-ship, with a valuable cargo of indigo; she was purchased into the British navy. In the East Indies, after an eight months' siege and blockade, by Rear-Admiral Stevens and Rear Admiral Cornish, Pondicherry surrendered, and was delivered up to the British troops.

Several brilliant single actions occurred during this year in various parts of the world. On the Jamaica station, the Hampshire, Boreas, and Lively, fell in with a convoy under five French frigates. The Boreas, being a-head, came up with the Sirene, but the latter, after a close action of twenty minutes,

shot a-head, and made off. The *Boreas* pursued; but it was the middle of next day before she came up with her, and renewed the action for two hours nearly, when the *Sirenne* struck, having eighty men killed and wounded. The *Boreas* had one man killed and one wounded. Being only a twenty-eight gun-frigate, and that of the enemy thirty-two, with eighty men more than the former, this is one of the many instances where superior seamanship, added to superior gunnery, have given the victory. The *Lively*, of twenty guns, came up with her equal, the *Valeur*, engaged her in close action, took her, having killed a lieutenant and thirty-seven men, her captain, master, and twenty-three men wounded. The *Lively* had two men killed. Two of the French frigates were destroyed by the *Hampshire*, and one escaped into Port au Paix.

In the course of this year two great events occurred—an overture of peace from France, and the resignation of Mr. Pitt—which latter threatened materially to affect the successful progress of affairs, at least in public opinion; and, as a third, may be added, the discovery of an intrigue of France with the Spanish court, at the very moment she was making professions of a desire for peace.

As soon as it came to the knowledge of Mr. Pitt that the Duc de Choiseul had signified his master's wish to terminate the war, and feeling that our position with regard to the successes of our navy at home

and abroad, and of the allied army on the Continent, were favourable for entertaining such an overture, and, moreover, that the enormous expense of the war pressed heavily on the national resources and the patience of the public, he appointed, early in May, Hans Stanley, Esq., to proceed as envoy extraordinary to the court of Versailles, and M. Bussy was sent over in the same character to the court of London. The terms were very soon nearly adjusted, and agreed to by the negociators, and the periods settled when the preliminary articles should be signed and ratified. But, just at this time, M. Bussy, by desire of the king of Spain, thought fit to present a private memorial, proposing that his Catholic majesty should be invited to guarantee the treaty between the two crowns; and it also insiduously introduced into the memorial, that, at the same time, the settlement of three great points in dispute between Great Britain and Spain might be arranged. These three points were—the restitution of some Spanish ships, or ships under Spanish colours, taken in the course of the war—liberty of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland—and the demolition of certain settlements made by the log-wood cutters in the bay of Honduras.

Mr. Pitt expressed great indignation at so highly improper an interference, which, he told M. Bussy, he would not suffer to be mentioned, or to enter in any shape into the present negotiation, and that he would

not allow France to interpose in any disputes Great Britain might have, either with Spain or any other power. He saw at once the drift of France in making such a proposal ; that, if accepted, time would be gained ; if refused, Spain might be induced to take part against us ; for, humbled as she had been, her fleets nearly destroyed, her colonies taken, and her finances in a state of bankruptcy, France still flattered herself that, if she could draw Spain into the contest, their united forces might give a more favourable turn to the war.

It soon appeared that Mr. Pitt was correct in the view he took of the memorial presented by M. Bussy. The communications received from the Earl of Bristol, our ambassador at the court of Madrid, made the design still more evident, and tended to confirm Mr. Pitt of the hostile intentions of Spain. Having called a cabinet council, he laid before his colleagues the conduct of Spain, said that he had required the Spanish minister to disavow the propositions being made through M. Bussy, with the knowledge of his court ; instead of which, the Spanish ambassador had not only avowed, but justified, the step taken by M. Bussy, as coinciding entirely with the sentiments of the king, his master. This conduct of Spain, Mr. Pitt said, could be considered in no other light than as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war ; that it had become necessary to give a lesson to his

Catholic majesty, and to all Europe, how dangerous it is to presume to dictate in the affairs of Great Britain. The cabinet affected moderation, inclined to think that we should wait, and that it would be time enough to declare war, if Spain should actually be gained over by France, in which case we should then have all Europe with us. But Mr. Pitt had made himself well acquainted with the intrigues that were carrying on between the two powers ; he had good intelligence that the “ family compact ” had been secretly signed ; and he persisted in the policy of adopting immediate and decisive measures, which, if not assented to, he declared his intention of sending in his resignation forthwith. “ I was called,” he said, “ to the administration of affairs by the voice of the people : to them I have always considered myself accountable for my conduct, and cannot therefore continue in a situation, which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide.”

The threatened resignation of this able minister was considered as one of the greatest calamities that could befall the nation, and excited a degree of alarm not usual on the retirement of a minister. The confidence placed by the country on the judgment and energy with which all his measures were conducted, and which he was wont to inspire into the councils of the nation, could not be transferred to a successor, who would, in all probability, be under the influence of those who had refused their support to the pro-

position of Mr. Pitt. It was supposed that most of the members of the cabinet were not at all sorry to hear such a declaration : they found themselves eclipsed by his superior splendour ; they therefore persevered in opposing his views ; and, on a division, only he and his brother-in-law, Earl Temple, were in favour of an immediate declaration of war against Spain. Nothing now remained for Mr. Pitt but to resign the seals into his Majesty's hand, which he did on the 5th October, and which the King accepted.* The treachery of France was now made manifest : they exulted at the resignation of a minister who had inspired them with terror, and now openly boasted of the family compact they had contrived to bring about, the effect of which would be, not only to retrieve their affairs, but to humble the pride of Great Britain. The remains of the old cabinet, with the Earl of Egmont as successor to Mr. Pitt, pursued exactly

* The Edinburgh Review, in magnifying the ascendancy of Lord Chatham (Mr. Pitt) over his colleagues, observes—"So absolutely was he determined to have the control of those measures of which he knew the responsibility rested upon him alone, that he insisted upon the First Lord of the Admiralty not having the correspondence of his own department, and no less eminent a naval character than Lord Anson, with his junior lords, were obliged to sign the orders issued by Mr. Pitt, while the writing was covered over from their eyes."

The reviewer might have informed himself better of the manner in which the business of the Admiralty was and is transacted. The Secretary of State, in conjoint expeditions, gives instructions in the Sovereign's name to both services, and sometimes, but rarely, when diplomatic communications are to be held with foreign powers. That he should repeat the stale joke made some years ago on the *lay lords*, in so grave a manner, is too ridiculous to gain belief.

the measures of the latter, which they had rejected when he was at their head ; and on the 4th January, 1762, war was proclaimed against Spain at London, and on the 18th Spain did the same at Madrid against Great Britain.

On the 8th July, 1761, his Majesty, George III., had made known to the Privy Council his most gracious intentions of demanding in marriage the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a princess distinguished for eminent virtues and amiable endowments ; and, by his Majesty's command, Lord Anson was ordered to prepare a squadron of ships of war, and to proceed with them under his flag to Stade, to receive and to escort the Princess to England. The Royal Caroline yacht was prepared and newly decorated, and her name changed to that of Royal Charlotte, in honour of the future Queen of England ; and the command of her on this occasion was conferred on Captain Peter Denis, one of the old lieutenants of Anson, who, having in the course of this month been made admiral of the fleet, hoisted the union flag on board the Royal Charlotte. The squadron, consisting of all the other royal yachts ; the Winchester, of fifty, Nottingham, sixty, Minerva, thirty-two, Tartar, twenty-eight, and two sloops of fourteen guns each, sailed from Harwich on the 8th August. On the embarkation of her Majesty, on the 24th, the Royal Charlotte was dressed in the several colours of all nations, which, on her

coming on board, were instantly struck, and the royal standard hoisted at the main-top-gallant mast-head, the admiralty flag at the fore, and the union at the mizen. After a very stormy passage, which, it is stated in Anson's Journal, the Princess bore remarkably well, they arrived at Harwich on the 6th September. The Queen set off for London, Lord Anson struck his flag, and the squadron dispersed. This was the last occasion of Lord Anson having had his flag flying.

The King in his speech from the throne declared it to be his fixed resolution, with the concurrence and support of the Commons, to carry on the war in the most effectual manner, for the interest and advantage of his kingdoms, and to maintain, to the utmost of his power, the good faith and honour of his crown, by adhering firmly to the engagements entered into with his allies. The ministry, with the accession of Lord Bute as First Commissioner of the Treasury, in the room of the Duke of Newcastle, resolved to push the war with vigour. They voted immediately seventy thousand seamen, the same as in the preceding year. They had a fleet at their disposal in high order, well manned and disciplined, and commanded by the choicest officers in the service. In this respect Lord Anson was always most fortunate, because he never attended to private solicitations, nor allowed any one to interfere in his appointments. In reply to an officer who complained of being ne-

glected, though a nobleman high in the government had applied in his behalf, Anson merely replied that, as he considered himself responsible for the officers he employed for particular stations, he never would allow himself to be dictated to by any one in that respect.

Several very splendid actions between single ships were fought in the course of the year 1761. It will suffice to mention one between two seventy-four-gun ships, the *Bellona*, Captain Faulkner, and the *Courageux*, M. L'Ambert. Scarcely had the action begun, before the mizen-masts of both ships fell overboard, when Captain Faulkner, with great skill and presence of mind, wore under the stern of the enemy and brought her to close action on the other side; the result was, that in half an hour she struck, her captain mortally wounded, 240 men killed, and 110 wounded. The *Bellona* had 6 killed and 28 wounded. This is another of the many instances in which nautical skill and masterly seamanship proved, in their results, manifestly superior to the French.

The appointments made, or continued, on the Spanish declaration of war, were Sir Edward Hawke to the coasts of Spain and Portugal, with Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy and Rear-Admiral his Royal Highness the Duke of York under him; Sir Charles Saunders and Commodore Sir Piercy Brett, to the Mediterranean; Commodores Lord Howe and Denis in Basque Roads; in the Leeward Islands,

Rear-Admiral Rodney and Commodore Swanton. On the Jamaica station Sir George Pocock, Commodore Sir James Douglas, and the Hon. Augustus Keppel. In North America, Commodore Lord Colville; and in the East Indies Vice-Admiral Cornish.

The first and early disaster which befel Spain was the capture of the *Hermione*, a large register ship from Lima, off Cadiz, on the 21st May, 1762, by the *Active* frigate and the *Favourite* sloop, two of Sir Edward Hawke's cruisers. The net proceeds of this ship, after the payment of all charges, was 519,705*l.* 10*s.*, of which the flag share amounted to 64,963*l.*, and each of the captains to the same sum; the lieutenants 13,000*l.*; and each seaman and marine 485*l.* About the same time another cruiser captured a rich Spanish ship from Barcelona having on board specie to the amount of 100,000 dollars.

These, however, were but the commencement of misfortunes which Spain had brought upon herself by the unwise step taken by that nation. It was determined by the government that an attack should be made on the Havannah, and the necessary instructions were given immediately to Sir George Pocock to that effect, and at the same time, the command of the troops to be employed was conferred on Lieutenant-General the Earl of Albemarle. The troops being embarked without loss of time, these two gallant officers, with five sail-of-the-line, and a fleet of transports, sailed from Spithead on the 5th

March. The army destined for this service, when the several forces from England, from the West Indies, and from North America, were collected, amounted to between fifteen and sixteen thousand men; and the fleet under Sir G. Pocock consisted of seventeen sail-of-the-line, five of sixty guns, four of fifty, and a great number of frigates and sloops, besides cutters, bombs, and other kinds of small craft.

With this overwhelming force, the two commanders-in-chief sailed from Martinique on the 6th May, and after the necessary preparations for the siege, a regular attack on the Moro Castle commenced on the 1st July, and on the 30th of that month a practicable breach was made on this strong fortress, when, on the same day, it was resolutely carried by storm, with the inconsiderable loss of two officers and thirty men. On the 11th August the Spaniards hung out flags of truce from the town, from the fort Le Puntal, and the admiral's ship in the harbour. On the 13th the capitulation was signed, and on the following day the British troops were put in possession of the Havannah. The treasure, the valuable merchandise, and naval stores found in the town and arsenal, amounted to very nearly three millions sterling.

The Spanish authorities struggled hard to save their ships of war that were in the harbour, but without success. They consisted of nine sail-of-the-

line fitted for sea, and two of the line on the stocks were burnt by our seamen; three had been sunk at the entrance of the harbour, with a large galleon—making fourteen sail-of-the-line, besides smaller armed ships and a number of merchant vessels. The capture of this place was of the utmost importance to us, a death-blow to the Spaniards in the West Indies, and the possession of a fleet, equal in the result to a great naval victory. Lord Albemarle, in his despatch to the secretary of state, says—"Sir George Pocock and Commodore Keppel have exerted themselves in a most particular manner; and I may venture to say, that there never was a joint undertaking carried on with more harmony and zeal on both sides, which greatly contributed to the success of it."

But the Spanish disasters did not end with the loss of the Havannah. The *Argo* frigate was despatched from England to the East Indies, immediately after the declaration of hostilities, carrying out orders from the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Cornish, and similar orders from the secretary of state to Colonel (afterwards Sir William) Draper, for a conjoint expedition against Manilla. Sir William had gallantly distinguished himself at the siege of Madras in 1759, and, being in England, was selected for this new service. The *Argo*, in which he proceeded, arrived at Madras early in June; and as soon as the two commanders had collected the troops and transports, the fleet,

consisting of nine sail-of-the-line and a few frigates, assembled at Malacca on the 19th August, and on the 23rd September arrived in Manilla Bay, to the great dismay and confusion of the Spaniards, who had not even heard of the war, and were therefore but ill prepared for resistance. They did, however, resist manfully, and resolutely defended the place; and, owing to their exertions, the difficulty of our large ships in approaching near enough, and a violent storm which lasted two days, it was the 5th October before a practicable breach was made in the enemy's works; after which, on the following morning, the fort was carried by storm. The governor and principal officers retired into the citadel, but were soon obliged to surrender. To save the city from being pillaged, the governor and inhabitants entered into an agreement to ransom it for four millions of dollars, the greater portion of which was never paid; the history of this ransom has been a subject of long discussion, but never satisfactorily explained. All the large ships found in the harbour were seized, as well as a great quantity of naval and military stores.

The colours taken at Manilla were sent to Cambridge, at the request of Colonel Draper, and hung up in the chapel of the college of which he was a member. His Majesty conferred on him the honour of the military order of the Bath, and Admiral Cornish was created a baronet of Great Britain;

they also received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

With regard to France, the disasters of the preceding year, which had induced her to make an overture of peace, were not in any way redeemed, but rather augmented in 1762, notwithstanding the assistance she expected from her alliance with Spain. On the 5th January of this year, Rear-Admiral Rodney sailed from Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, with his squadron and a large fleet of transports, having on board about fourteen thousand troops, under the command of Major-General Monckton, with the intention of attacking Martinique; at the same time, the rear-admiral detached five sail-of-the-line, under Commodore Swanton, to proceed to Fort Royal Bay to attack and destroy the enemy's batteries, while Rodney sailed for St. Anne's Bay, where a large body of troops were landed, and batteries for their protection erected. Finding, however, that this position was not favourable for the speedy reduction of the island, the troops were re-embarked and conveyed to Fort Royal Bay, where they were again landed on the 16th, together with a detachment of seamen, to assist in drawing the heavy artillery over the rugged ground, frequently under a galling fire from the enemy's batteries. The siege of Fort Royal continued till the 4th February, when it surrendered; and on the 16th the whole island was in possession of the British forces. Very soon after this the

islands of St. Lucia, Granada, and St. Vincent were captured by the squadron under Commodore Swanton.

A French squadron with 1500 troops on board, under M. de Fernay, which had escaped from Brest during a thick fog, towards the end of April, made its appearance on the 24th June before the harbour of St. John's in Newfoundland, into which they entered without opposition, and landed the 1500 men, who were under the orders of M. de Haussonville. Lord Colville, on hearing this, proceeded from Halifax with his squadron off St. John's harbour, and blocked up M. de Fernay. On the 16th September a strong westerly gale, attended by a thick fog, forced Lord Colville from his station, of which M. de Fernay availed himself, slipped his cables, and stood out to sea. The French general, finding himself deserted by the squadron, and that it was impossible to hold out long, offered terms of capitulation, which, being accepted, the French troops became prisoners of war; and, on the 18th, the whole island fell again into the possession of the English.

The two parties to the family compact being thus humbled by the loss of their possessions—their navies—and their commerce—were glad to sue for peace, and preliminaries were signed at Fontainebleau in November, 1762, which were ratified on the 10th and proclaimed in London on the 22nd February, 1763; and thus ended, gloriously for England, “the Seven-

Years' War," during which it may safely be asserted, the British navy, at no former period, arrived at a higher state of discipline, exhibited a greater degree of perfection in seamanship, or performed more noble deeds of valour, than were accomplished under the direction and guidance of the noble lord at the head of the naval department.

Lord Anson, however, did not live to receive the gratification of being witness to all the glorious exploits which led to the termination of the war; but he lived long enough to be made acquainted with many of them in the early part of this last campaign, owing to his judicious appointments and arrangements; for which the country was not less indebted to the memory of the man who planned than to those gallant men who executed them. His Lordship, soon after his arrival in England with the Queen, finding his state of health much impaired, was advised by his physician to try the Bath waters, from which he was thought to have received benefit; but soon after his return to his seat of Moore Park he was suddenly seized, while walking in his garden, went home, complained of being ill, and laying himself down on his bed, expired without a struggle, on the 6th June, 1762. His remains were interred in the family vault at Colwich, in the county of Stafford. By his will a great part of his fortune devolved on his sister's son, George Adams, Esq.

The surviving friends of Anson and his numerous and faithful followers had every reason to be proud of his memory. His amiable and beloved wife, a lady of very superior acquirements, had gone before him two years—a loss which was to him irreparable; both were fond of rural life, and enjoyed the pleasure of floriculture and planting. For the introduction of that finest specimen of apricot, known by the name of the Moore-Park apricot, the subsequent proprietors of this noble place were indebted to Anson. He is said also to have taken peculiar pleasure in cultivating a species of *lathyrus*, which his cook picked up in the Straits of Magellan, and was there considered a great luxury; but here the “Anson pea,” as an esculent, may be considered the very worst of the whole tribe: it is, however, a pretty addition to the flower-bed. Anson left no children to bewail his loss; and his brother Thomas appears to have been the only remaining near relation. To this brother, the Duke of Newcastle, who, under all the fluctuating circumstances of two wars, had ever looked up to Anson for his opinion and advice in naval concerns, addressed the following letter:—

“*Claremont, 9th June, 1762.*

“SIR—The very great regard which I had for my Lord Anson, and the friendship with which he honoured me for many years, will, I hope, be my excuse for the liberty I take in most sincerely condoling with you for his loss—a loss

which the public will feel as well as his friends; for there never was a more able, a more upright, or a more useful servant to his King and country, or a more sincere or valuable friend. Nobody can be more sensible of his loss than I am, or more desirous to show all possible respect and regard to his memory.

“I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

“Thomas Anson, Esq.”

CHAPTER X.

ANSON'S CHARACTER ILLUSTRATED.

Professional character—Conduct in the civil department of the Navy—Improvements in the *matériel* of the Navy—Moral character—resembled that of Lord Howe—Peculiar habits—Character illustrated by his correspondents—Captains Bennet, Piercy Brett, Cheap, Denis, Philip Saumarez; Mr. Legge, M. Hardenberg, Lord Sandwich, Lord Chatham—The late King's mark of attention to Lord Anson's memory.

A NAVAL historian of very considerable merit, in recording the death of Lord Anson, says, "Now that the rage and malevolence of party spirit has had time to subside, this great man appears in very shining colours; and although born of an ancient family, yet it was his merit alone that raised him to the high honours which he attained. The fame which he acquired in his voyage round the world, in which he showed an equanimity of mind equal to the numberless perils and dangers which he encountered, will, while the English language lasts, never cease to be remembered; and on this voyage, the prudence, perseverance, good conduct, humanity, and courage, which he displayed, would alone have been sufficient to have made his fortune, and raised him to a great degree of eminence in the naval annals of Great

Britain, if no other circumstance had come to his aid." *

This is certainly just; and in the case supposed, the name of Anson would have ranked high among those early navigators, Magelhaens, Drake, Cavenish, Dampier, and other celebrated men previous to his time; but much more than this is due to his memory. To say that Anson was a perfect seaman would be no great compliment to an officer who, like him, had spent the first thirty years at least, after leaving home, in the various duties of the profession; and few men had more painful experience of the dangers, the difficulties, and the melancholy disasters, to which a seaman's life is exposed, than he had in those which fell to his lot to encounter in his enterprising voyage round the world. In that voyage he gave ample proof that he was a truly brave man—morally and physically brave—a man of firm nerves, and of great resources in time of need—for the exercise of which, occasions were neither slight nor few. To say he was so is no special praise. All the world knows that a naval officer is and must be brave; it is a virtue common to the whole profession; they are instructed from their earliest youth to be so, and it is a plant that grows with their growth; but like other qualities it has its degrees, and requires occasions to bring it forth.

* Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain; by Robert Beatson, Esq., L.L.D.

It did not happen to fall to the lot of Anson to distinguish himself particularly in action with the enemy. His engagement with the great *Acapulco* ship, with his reduced and feeble crew, just one-half in number to the enemy, was highly creditable to him, his officers, and ship's company; and perhaps still more so, after all their sufferings, cheerfully to go forth with the true undaunted spirit of British seamen to seek and meet the enemy. Nor was it a less strong feature in the character of Anson, that, soon after taking his seat at the Board of Admiralty, at a time when the public were dissatisfied at nothing having been done for the first two years of the war, he volunteered to hoist his flag, and assume the command of a fleet for the purpose of intercepting two combined squadrons of the enemy, of which he had received certain information; a step that could only have been taken on public grounds, united with a desire to do something that might distinguish him, and render him worthy of the situation he held in the public service.

But Anson's character is to be looked at more closely in the civil department of the navy, in which it has been seen he acquitted himself with great ability, diligence, and impartiality. Under his administration, many years before and during the Seven-Years' war, the British navy attained a pitch of power and pre-eminence to which it had never before arrived: while the fleets of France and Spain were

completely humbled, and almost annihilated ; the remaining portion of them being mostly shut up in their ports during the last three years of the war.

Nothing can speak more strongly in favour of Anson's character than the confidence placed in him by the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich, both of whom, before he had been two years as a junior member of the Board, entrusted him with the management of the affairs of the Admiralty, and urgently desired him to take into his hands the whole direction of the naval department ; assured him they should consider his acts as their own, and were ready and willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of them : all which is so clearly and so distinctly stated in their correspondence, when absent from the Board, which was of frequent occurrence, and is so strongly expressed by Lord Sandwich, after he became the head of the Board, and was confined to his post at Aix-la-Chapelle, as to leave no doubt on the subject, that Anson was, while a junior member, in all respects but in name, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Anson's attention was not merely confined to the ordinary routine of the civil and military duty ; he had seen and sufficiently experienced the miserable kind of ships ours were, as compared with those of other nations, not to take advantage of his situation for their improvement. He knew that the old system of building ships, on the plan established by order in council of the year 1719, was deplorably

bad, and that the ships built after it had not one good quality; yet it would have been little short of treason to break through it. Anson, however, had not been two years in the Board when, in 1746, he prevailed on the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich to obtain a revision of the faulty system, and if possible to establish a better. The mode adopted to bring this about has been shown in the Memoir; and the whole proceeding proves the business-like manner in which it was accomplished. The defects of ships of the line at this time were stated to be, that they were narrow for their length, lean in the bows, and so deficient in bearing, forward, that their pitching, rolling, and labouring, in a heavy sea, always endangered the loss of their masts. In short, they were inferior in sailing, and in every other good quality, to those of the French.

The fifty and sixty gun ships formed a very principal part of the line when Anson came into the Admiralty; but, in the course of the Seven-Years' war, when he was at the head of the Board, he caused great number of seventy-fours to be laid down, to take the place of the sixties; and at the time of his death, just before the conclusion of the war, he had built and launched not fewer than four or five first and second rates, and other ships of the line, of which not fewer than twenty-nine were seventy-fours, together with ten sixty-fours and sixties. These

improvements in building ships of the navy were of essential importance, but had been totally neglected by his predecessors. In his time, and long before it, the bottoms of the ships became so foul as to make it necessary, after any short cruise, to have them cleaned and scrubbed with soap and water, or some other lotion, to remove the filth which prevented their speed. Mr. Secretary Pepys had long deplored this great defect, and had in vain wished that the surveyors of the navy, a conceited set, would try what a covering of lead would do, but he was never able to succeed in getting the experiment tried. Anson, however, either from his own suggestion or that of some other, ordered the Alarm frigate, in 1761, to be sheathed with copper, the first that was ever so covered; but, like all new inventions, it took from twenty to thirty years before it became general.

Anson was not only thus a great benefactor to the *matériel* of the navy, but equally so to its officers, whose claims had not been listened to with that attention which they had a right to expect from one of their own corps, usually placed at the head of the naval department. The number of captains passed over in promotion of admirals was very great for so small a list, but at the same time may have been expedient; the grievance complained of was, the neglect and injustice of leaving their names at the head of the list of captains, though never intended to be employed, and continuing them there on the scanty pittance

of half-pay. Anson, who had passed over a great many on his own promotion, could not but feel for their situation; and that he did so is more than probable, by the order in council which was passed for their relief in the first year after he went to the Board.

He was a man of great modesty and simplicity of manners, and so reserved in general society as to give some truth to the point of Williams's *bon mot*, that "he had been round the world, but never in it:" Walpole, also, is not far from the truth in calling him "the silent son-in-law of the chancellor." His silence and reserve, however, were not the offspring of any deficiency of knowledge or want of ability, either on general or professional acquirements, but from that natural diffidence of his own merit, and a reluctance of speaking in public, which very many men of considerable talents have not been able to overcome; while others, with a parsimony of intellect, are by no means deficient in volubility of speech. As a representative in the House of Commons, and subsequently as a peer of the realm—as a member of the Board of Admiralty, holding for many years the high and responsible situation of First Lord—it does not appear, from the parliamentary history, that he ever spoke on any subject, professional or otherwise, although many naval questions of considerable importance, in both houses, were brought into discussion; but there were always able civilians in the Board to represent his sentiments. In the records

of the Admiralty there is abundant evidence of his constant and unremitting attention to the various duties of that department, and of the large share he had in them.

Anson stood high in public estimation previous to, and after, the unfortunate affair of Byng and the loss of Minorca, which drove him for a short time, with Mr. Fox, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hardwicke, and others, from the administration. Lord Waldegrave, a very honest and competent judge, says, "Lord Anson was also dismissed from the Admiralty, a violent clamour having been made against him, of which he was no more deserving than of the high reputation which preceded it. He was in reality a good sea-officer, and had gained a considerable victory over the French in the last war; but nature had not endowed him with those extraordinary abilities which had been so liberally granted him by the whole nation. Now, on the contrary, he is to be allowed no merit whatever; the loss of Minorca is to be imputed to his misconduct, though many were equally, some infinitely more, blameable; his slowness in business is to be called negligence, and his silence and reserve, which formerly passed for wisdom, take the name of dulness and of want of capacity."* "There never was," says the Duke of Newcastle, "a more able, a more upright, or a more useful servant to his king and country, or a more sincere and valuable friend."

* The Earl of Waldegrave's Memoirs.

The fleets that he fitted out, with a rapidity never before known, afford no ground for the imputation of *slowness*; the truth appears to be, that he was slow to decide, but quick to execute. He was not certainly possessed of shining abilities, but a plain, straightforward, matter-of-fact man, attentive to the duties of his office, well acquainted with the practical part of his profession, and—what is perhaps equally important—with the character of the officers belonging to it, which he closely looked at and thoroughly understood—the more necessary in his time, as selection for promotion to the flag was almost exclusively the rule. “Anson was remarkable,” says Major Rennel, “for having brought forward such a number of fine officers, who figured as captains and admirals during the ‘Seven-Years’ war’—Saunders, Sir Piercy Brett, Dogger-bank Parker, Saumarez, Keppel, Denis, &c., all of whom served in his ship, or in the South Sea squadron. I knew many of them. The lieutenants and midshipmen of his ship and squadron were the admirals of the Seven Years’ and the American Wars. His judgment was great, and he improved and gave a spur to the navy.”*

If Anson was frugal of his speech, he appears to

* MS. letter from Major Rennel to a friend.

It is worthy of notice that *three* of those (lieutenants and midshipmen) who were in Anson’s squadron, Howe, Keppel, and Saunders, became First Lords of the Admiralty—that Sir Piercy Brett, Sir Peter Denis, the Hon. John Byron, Sir Hyde Parker, all attained the rank of Admiral, and commanded fleets, the first of them a Lord of the Admiralty. Poor Captain Cheap of the *Wager* died of fatigue and suffering soon after reaching England.

have been no less so of his pen. The Lord Chancellor, in acknowledging a longer letter than usual from him, says, "I was sure it must be material upon opening it, since nothing else could have drawn so much writing from your Lordship." In a letter to Lord Sandwich, he himself admits his deficiency thus: "My dear Lord, be assured that, except in ceremony and correspondence, at both of which I am extremely awkward, nobody living can be more sincerely," &c. In fact he had no notion of making a display; but he had the sterling good sense to preserve silence, rather than to show his want of what passes in the world and in society for conversational tact. It appears, indeed, evidently enough from the little he did write, that his education had been defective, and that he was neither more nor less than the plain honest seaman, altogether self-educated. The consequence was, that of all human beings placed in the proud situation in which he stood, he was the least ostentatious. Modesty and reserve were the true characteristics of Anson. In this and many other respects he strongly resembled Lord Howe, of whom a gallant admiral, now living, observed, in the words of Isaiah, which are equally applicable to Lord Anson, "He did not kindle a fire to compass himself about with sparks, or walk in the sight of that fire and in the sparks which he had kindled." There were indeed many points of resemblance between these two great and good men. Benevolence

and generosity were the distinguishing characters of each. Howe, when on shore, spontaneously gave up his share of prize-money to those engaged in making it, and his generous acts in many other respects have been put on record. Anson also distributed his share of the whole rich plunder of Paita among his companions concerned in taking it. And we have the voluntary testimony of the lady of South Carolina, who describes his character when there "that he was generous without profusion, elegant without ostentation; and, above all, of a most tender, humane disposition; and his benevolence extensive even to his own detriment." This was in the early part of his career, and it remained with him to the last.

But these acts of kindness and benevolence were perhaps most conspicuous in the relief he was always ready to bestow on those most in need of it—the unfortunate prisoners of war. His humane treatment of those in the South Sea was acknowledged with gratitude by all whom the fortune of war had thrown into his hands. The people of Spanish America, enemies as they were, extolled his generous conduct; and the followers of Anson, who had the misfortune of suffering shipwreck on the coast of that country, were treated with the greatest humanity, and had money offered to supply their wants, because they had belonged to Anson. A most remarkable instance of the durable reminiscence of benevolence is mentioned by Captain Basil Hall. He says:

"Lord Anson's proceedings, we were surprised to find, are still traditionally known at Paita; and it furnishes a curious instance of the effect of manners in the opinions of mankind, to observe, that the kindness with which that sagacious officer treated his prisoners is, at the distance of eighty years, better known and more dwelt upon by the inhabitants of Paita, than the capture and destruction of that town."* The French admitted that their prisoners in England were better taken care of under Anson's administration than usual, and they acknowledged it in their negotiations for peace: and well they might; for when their agent avowed that his government, being in a state of bankruptcy, could no longer support their prisoners in England, Anson prevailed on the English government to contribute to their support, and succeeded in levying private contributions to afford them sustenance.

That part of Anson's epistolary correspondence, which has escaped destruction, consists of letters addressed to, with very few from, him; a chasm that leaves a sad deficiency in the development of his sentiments and opinions on particular subjects. Though an indifferent scribe—and that he admits himself to be—his Order Book on the South Sea expedition might serve as a model for any commander-in-chief; it is a pattern of laborious detail and minute regis-

* Travels in South America, by Captain Basil Hall.

tration in all matters pertaining to the public service : his instructions are written with great clearness ; nothing is slurred over ; every circumstance is stated with precision. Every name of every Spanish prisoner is noted down in a list ; every disposition of them accounted for ; so is every spar and every rope-yarn ; in short, that extraordinary book is a document which establishes the character of Anson, as a clear-headed man, and a correct, honest, and faithful servant of the public.

There is reason to believe that a private journal existed during his long and interesting voyage, in which his feelings were no doubt fully and frequently expressed ; but it has disappeared, having, it is supposed, been lent to some one who forgot to return it. We may, however, pretty well gather from the letters of his numerous correspondents, which by good chance have been preserved, what their sentiments were with regard to him, and extracts from them will afford the best illustration we have of his character. It is an old saying, "Show me the company a man keeps, and I will tell you his character." Why not, on a similar principle, say, "Show me the correspondence which a man receives, and I will show you what manner of man he is."

For want, therefore, of his own letters, it may not be amiss to give a few specimens of those of his correspondents, from which some estimate of his character may be formed.

The first is from Captain Barnett, of the navy, who writes to Lord Anson a long and very sensible letter from Fort St. David, of which the following is an extract:—"As I cannot suppose that riches and honours have made any alteration in Mr. Anson, I presume still to address him as my friend, though he is one of my masters. I heartily wish the navy had many of your great capacity and happy temper and disposition: but where are they to be found? and how seldom have we had one man at the Admiralty who really did, or endeavoured to do, anything in support of the corps of sea-officers, or made the improvement of the discipline any part of his care? Ministerial jobs have too often taken up their whole attention, or the care of their own interest and the promotion of their family's. You, Sir, have nothing to risk, and less to fear; I therefore expect a great deal from you; and if I am deceived will never again hope to see the grievances of the sea-officers redressed, or any real improvements made, but conclude we are to go on in the old stupid tracks of our predecessors, leave all to chance, and blunder on *ad infinitum*, without any regular system of discipline. I am stupid enough to think that we are worse officers, though better seamen, than our neighbours: our young men get wrong notions early, and are led to imagine that *he* is the greatest officer who has the least blocks in his rigging. I hope you will give another turn to our affairs, and form a society for the

propagation of sea-military knowledge. I think you had formerly such a scheme." *

From those who had served with Anson the expressions of gratitude and kind feeling are universal. His old lieutenant, Piercy Brett, says, "On my arrival yesterday, I was favoured with your friendly, obliging letter. I heartily wish you joy of your promotion, and do assure you the compliment you pay me in making choice of me for your captain gives me the greatest pleasure imaginable, and I shall ever look upon it as a mark of your esteem." †

From another of his South Sea companions, Captain Cheap, one of the greatest sufferers, where all had to suffer, by the additional misfortune of the loss of his ship, and by having to deal with a mutinous crew, Anson receives the first account of his safety, in a letter dated Landernau, in France, the 12th December, 1745: "I should be unpardonable if I let slip this opportunity, which is the first I have had, of congratulating you on your safe arrival in your native country, after so tedious and fatiguing a voyage, and your having obtained the preferment you so justly deserve in the opinion of all mankind; even your enemies speak well of you—I mean the enemies of Great Britain, for I believe you have no personal ones; and, at the same time, I take the liberty to assure you that no man on earth wishes your prosperity with a warmer heart than I do." ‡

* Anson's Collection, No. 60. † Ib. No. 90. ‡ Ib. No. 110.

Captain Denis, of the *Centurion*, one of his South Sea lieutenants, fell in with and captured five or six rich prizes. In his letter to Anson, he says, with great *naïveté*, "What I have done to deserve all this good fortune I know not; but thus far shall I be ever sensible of—that the spring of all my success took its rise from your Lordship's friendship, and one of my greatest pleasures is, that of acknowledging it." And Boscawen, whom Walpole had the insolence to say Anson sent on a hopeless expedition to India, out of jealousy to get rid of him, thus writes from Madeira: "I hope to be joined by the ships that have parted company, otherwise I am afraid it will be impossible for me to execute the whole of the scheme proposed in my instructions; but I will do all in my power, that I may convince you I am not unworthy the many friendships I have received from you."

Captain Philip Saumarez, another of his South Sea companions, writes thus: "As we are now on the point of sailing, I cannot possibly leave this place without letting you know what part I take in the honours and titles which are preparing for you; the inward satisfaction they give me is much easier conceived than expressed. It is an assemblage of events which rarely happens, that the judgment of the sovereign and the suffrages and applause of a nation, should so solemnly confirm and unanimously approve

of whatever distinguishing marks of honour are to be conferred on you." *

The Hon. Henry Legge, once Anson's colleague, and sent afterwards on special business to the court of Berlin, writes to him some beautiful and sometimes amusing letters. The one dated 4th Sept. 1748, from Berlin, is interesting :—

"The account of your naval exploits has penetrated even into this inland country, where, though every man one meets is a soldier, they are all ready to allow the merits of a mariner, and able to discern how much more merit one of the profession may have than another. All people here who have the least smattering of English (and many have) are at work with grammars and dictionaries to read over your South Sea voyage; and as I am known to have been formerly a mariner, great resort is had to me for the explanation of such technical terms as are not to be found in dictionaries. However the work itself may suffer by such a commentator, the author's character certainly will not; for unless somebody here should have malice enough to make me declare, upon my conscience, what sort of a *correspondent* you are, I think, in all other respects, my reports will not be much to your disadvantage.

"You may imagine I am not the only dealer in English here who has not read it. I have borrowed

* Anson's Collection, No. 394.

and read it with the greatest satisfaction. Though it is a work which, as an Englishman, I am proud of, and, as a mariner, I think will be of perpetual use to the faculty; yet self-interest and private passions can always find something to appropriate to themselves, out of benefits of the most general influence; and therefore I feel myself most shamefully inclined to thank you, more, for having done honour to my brother, than to your own country. The kind, and, I may say, just paragraph (for otherwise I am sure you would never have admitted it) which relates to him, will always have authority enough to protect his memory against coffee-house censurers, and the cavils of those children of ease who sit at home and, without risking themselves, blame every man's conduct they do not and cannot understand. You knew my affection to poor Ned*—measure my obligations to you by it; and I will dwell no longer upon a subject which always makes me unhappy." †

The following may serve as a specimen of the lively manner in which his friend Legge writes. It is dated Berlin:—

"DEAR ANSON,

"Wherever this epistle finds you on this side the water, I hope it will prevail upon you to proceed further, even into Berlin. Whilst you were a single man you enter-

* The Hon. Ed. Legge, who commanded the *Severn*, in the South Sea voyage, and died when commodore of the Leeward Islands station.

† Anson's Collection, No. 288.

tained notions of this sort, and gave me room to hope ; I dare say you had not one virtue as a bachelor that has not received improvement and addition by the accession of a good wife, and I am very desirous to rank every kind intention towards your humble servant among the number of your virtues. I know if I can once get them received in that light, they will have the most stable foundation in your own heart ; and Lady Anson cannot but applaud and encourage them. Believe me it is a virtue worthy to enter into the most Christian catalogue, to visit and comfort one's friends and countrymen whilst they are sojourning amongst strangers in a foreign land. You will find it so written in Beveridge, or Nelson, or Jeremy Taylor, or some good book or another ; and though I cannot exactly name to you the chapter and verse, yet I dare say Lady Anson could. The way hither is very good, and not very long ; besides, I am a little pawned in honour to produce you, if possible, for I could not help bragging one day to his Prussian Majesty of the long acquaintance and friendship I had with you, and hinting that I thought it not impossible but you might see Berlin ; at which he intimated, with great vivacity, a strong curiosity to see you. In short, if you come we will treat you with great kindness and cordiality ; if you do not, I will only tell the king, that though you make nothing of going round the world, you grudge the trouble of visiting his capital. I am, dear Anson, behave how you will, most affectionately, &c.

“ H. LEGGE.” *

The praise of Anson was not confined to his *compagnons du voyage* and countrymen, it extended to foreigners, and, among others, to those whom he had reduced to the state of prisoners. The sentiments

* Anson's Collection, No. 285.

and the conduct of M. St. George, who commanded the Invincible, and taken by Anson, have been contrasted with the vapouring M. de Conflans. The friendship which was established between the former gallant officer and Anson—the victor and the vanquished—was of the noblest character, and highly honourable to both. While yet in the Prince George he sent some packet of letters to request Anson to forward them to France, in justification of his conduct to his government, in which he expressed himself, as in his whole correspondence, full of gratitude and affection.

The following letter, with a copy of verses, from M. Hardenberg, is highly flattering :—

“ Au Gardenberg, le 4me Juillet, 1747.

“ Monsieur—Permettez que je vous temoigne ma joie, et que je vous felicite de tout mon cœur sur la gloire que vous vous etes si dignement acquisé dans votre dernier expedition. Jugez de l'effet de l'amitié ; elle m'a fait poëte en votre faveur, moi, qui de ma vie n'ai songé à faire des vers ; ils sont destinés pour être mis sous votre portrait, si vous n'en rencontrez pas de meilleurs. J'ai fait allusion sur votre visage modeste, malgré lequel vous entreprenez les choses du monde les plus dangereuses, et j'ai taché d'y rassembler en racourci toutes vos belles actions. Faites je vous prie bien des amitiés de ma part à Mr. H. Legge, et à my Lord Delawar, et me croiez avec autant de sincerité que d'attachement pendant tout ma vie.

“ Votre très humble, &c.

“ HARDENBERG.”*

* Anson's Collection, No. 185.

" Sic vultus hostes inter mortesque serenos,
 Quâ patet oceanus, circum Maria omnia gessit.
 Heros, cum patriæ recidivum attollere laudem
 Natus, thesauros devicto extorsit Ibero,
 Fœdifragi Hesperium mare Galli sanguine tinxit.
 Hos quoties salsis stupuit Neptunis in undis
 Hos adamant nautæ, cives, mirabitur Orbis."

To this complimentary letter, and its accompaniment, Anson replies in tolerable good French—

" Monsieur—Je demande mille pardons d'avoir defféré si long tems de vous remercier de votre belle lettre, et de la part que vous me faites l'honneur de prendre à ce que m'arrive d'avantageuse. Je devroi peut être me pleindre que vous mettez tout en œuvre pour me reduire, et me rendre le plus vain de tous les hommes. Les connoisseurs ont peine à croire que ce n'est que d'aujourd'hui que vous êtes poëte ; ils trouvent vos vers extrêmement beaux, et assurément il n'y manque que le sujet. En tout cas je suis plus flatté de l'amitié qui en est la cause que de tous les éloges du monde. Trop glorieux de l'avoir mérité, j'en désire avec ardeur la continuation, et je serai toute ma vie avec l'estime et l'attachement le plus vrai, votre très obéissant, &c.

" ANSON."

No one could be more devoted to another than Lord Sandwich was to Lord Anson. He was to him a Mecænas in more than naval matters. This has appeared in so many parts of the narrative, that nothing further would be necessary ; though a few brief extracts from his correspondence may here be added. Captain Gascoigne had solicited Anson for a particular appointment, and had applied to Lord

Sandwich, who was inclined to serve him. On this occasion he says to Anson, "I could not help complying with his request in writing this to you, though I shall take no other step in it, nor in this, nor in any other transaction, act any part that I have not first concerted with you, and am persuaded is agreeable to your inclination. I can make no other return than this for the many remarkable acts of friendship which you have shown to me, and which no time nor circumstances can ever efface out of my mind."

At the close of a long letter, fully explaining the difficulty of his situation at the Hague, and evincing an anxiety that Anson should be satisfied of the rectitude of the principles by which his actions were regulated, he says: "I assure you the thing on which, in private, as well as in public life, I most sincerely pride myself, is the having been able, with the short acquaintance I have had with you, to recommend myself to the being considered by you as your Lordship's most sincere friend," &c. Indeed he loses no occasion of complimenting Anson on his management of the navy.

"You may easily believe me," he says, "when I tell you it is with the utmost pleasure that I congratulate you upon the fresh success of our fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral Hawke. Besides the advantage this great stroke will give to us in our public affairs, the credit and reputation it will give to our mariners cannot but afford a most thorough satisfaction; as it is impossible for any one to have the prosperity of a profession more sincerely at heart

than I have of that of which you are so deservedly considered as the chief director, and to whose knowledge and ability the world is very ready to attribute the different figure that the English fleet has made in the last years, from what it did at the beginning of the war.” *

Anson, having carried over the king to Holland, took that opportunity of making a hasty visit to his friend Lord Sandwich, at Aix-la-Chapelle. The latter writes to him after his departure thus:—“ As I am in hopes that you are by this time safely arrived in England, give me leave to return you my most sincere thanks for your friendly visit at this place; every day gives me fresh reason to acknowledge my obligations to your Lordship, of which, in no circumstance of my life, I shall ever be unmindful.”

Lord Sandwich had, very innocently and undeservedly, roused the jealousy of the Duke of Newcastle, the most suspicious, and at the same time timid, of public men, explains openly the whole of the circumstances to Anson, and thus concludes:—“ You see, my dear Lord, that I write to you as I speak to myself; these things are not proper to be mentioned, but to those one can trust with that entire confidence; and there is no other man in the world but you to whom I would venture to say half what I now do; but I have so many proofs of your friendship for me, that from you I can conceal nothing.” Writing on the same subject, the conclusion of his

* Anson's Collection, No. 357.

letter shows not only the confidence he placed in Anson, but the good opinion he entertained of his judgment:—" I write this letter to you in the fullness of my heart, so that I dare say I need not enjoin you to keep it entirely to yourself; as I have already said, there is nothing will go so far towards making me think I am in the wrong, as my knowing that you are of a different opinion; and, if that is the case, I flatter myself you will not conceal it from me." When Anson communicated to him his nomination as First Lord of the Admiralty, he says,—“ You will easily conceive my satisfaction on the receipt of the news contained in the last three mails from England. I am sensible how much I am obliged to your Lordship for the great weight of your friendship; and I easily perceive how much your support has contributed to make the way easy to the height of good fortune to which I am arrived, and which I shall never forget to the last hour of my life.” And when Lord Sandwich had completed the arduous task of settling the peace, he writes,—“ As it will be so soon that I shall have the happiness of being with you, I will say nothing to you at present upon public affairs, any further than to return you thanks for your constant kindness to me, and for the friendly advice you gave me in your several letters; to which, you may be assured, I shall pay the strictest attention, as there is no one living of whose friendship I am more convinced than I am of yours, or for whose opinion I have greater deference.”

From the collection of upwards of five hundred letters addressed to Anson, many more extracts might here be added, some of them expressing gratitude for benefits received, others for attentions bestowed, and others again complimentary, laudatory, or teeming with effusions of pure regard and friendship.

The specimens here given, expressive of esteem and affection for Anson, from various individuals, may serve to evince an amiable character and disposition in him to whom the letters are addressed. It does not appear, indeed, that he had any enemies, except a few and very few political ones, such as Walpole, whose praise or censure is equally valueless from his tergiversations and constant self-contradictions.

Dr. Johnson is said not to have liked Anson; how should he, after writing against him in his defence of Byng? Besides, he was a Whig, and the great moralist had a rooted dislike to Whiggism, which he said "was a negation of all principle;" and he once blustered out to Boswell, that "the devil was the first Whig." Boswell tells us, that one day a lank boney figure, with short black hair, came to Johnson with an "Ode to the warlike Genius of Britain;" and, in going over it, Johnson, in a tone of displeasure, asked him, "Why do you praise Anson?" On this passage the editor of Boswell has the following note from Piozzi's anecdotes:—"He disliked Lord Anson probably from local politics. On one occasion he visited Lord Anson's seat (Moor

Park), and although, as he confessed, 'well received and kindly treated, he, with the true gratitude of a wit, ridiculed the master of the house before he had left it half an hour.' In the grounds there is a temple of the winds, on which he made the following epigram:—

'Gratum animum laudo; Qui debuit omnia ventis,
Quam bene ventorum, surgere templa jubet.'* *

Lord Chatham, however, was a more competent judge of Anson's merit than Dr. Johnson. In the dispute with Spain, in 1770, respecting the Falkland Islands, Johnson wrote a long paper against their establishment. "It was he" (Lord Anson), said Lord Chatham,—“it was he who first pointed out the advantages that might accrue to Great Britain from establishing a regular colony upon them. In accordance with his suggestions the English Government, soon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, determined to send ships to extend the discoveries in the South Seas, and particularly to examine into the condition of the Falkland Islands.” He added,—“The second naval object with an English minister should be to maintain, at all times, a powerful western squadron. In the profoundest peace it should be respectable; in war it should be formidable; without it, the colonies, the commerce, the navigation of Great Britain, lie at the mercy of the house of Bourbon. While I had the honour of act-

* Croker's Boswell's Life of Johnson.

ing with Lord Anson, that able officer never ceased to inculcate upon the minds of his Majesty's servants the necessity of constantly maintaining a strong western squadron; and I must vouch for him, that while *he* was at the head of the marine it was never neglected."

This from Mr. Pitt, with whom and against whom it had been Anson's fortune to act, spoken eight years after his death, is a testimony so favourable to his professional character, as to require little more to be said on that subject.

One thing, however, is rather surprising, that to the memory of such a man no statue, nor monument, nor inscribed tablet, public or private, has been raised. Nothing, even in his own parish-church of Colwich, beyond the dry fact, on the lid of his coffin, of where he was born and where died. "I always feel ashamed," writes an amiable lady of the present family, "when I think that neither private affection nor public gratitude has ever raised a monument to one who has shed such lustre on the name of Anson, while some of the humbler companions of his voyage have their deeds recorded on marble, in the venerable fane of Westminster."

There *is*, however, a memorial of him preserved, of a perishable nature it is true, but most appropriately disposed of. When the old Centurion was broken up, her head, a celebrated carved lion, *rampant*, was sent to George III., who presented it to

Charles Duke of Richmond, then Master-General of the Ordnance; the Duke placed it on a pedestal at Waterbeech, near Goodwood, where it served as a sign to the public-house. The late king, William IV., saw and admired this venerable relic, and begged it of the present Duke of Richmond. It was sent to Windsor, where the King had it placed at the head of the grand staircase; but, on being persuaded, by some of the gentlemen of taste, that it was out of character where it stood, his Majesty said he would send it where he was sure it would be in character; ordered it to Greenwich Hospital, with directions to place it in one of the wards, which he desired should be called the "Anson ward;" and there this bold and well-sculptured royal animal stands, with his head erect, in a rampant posture, measuring just sixteen feet from the ground. On the pedestal were inscribed the following lines :—

" Stay, traveller, awhile, and view
 One who has travell'd more than you :
 Quite round the globe, through each degree,
 Anson and I have plough'd the sea ;
 Torrid and frigid zones have past,
 And—safe ashore arrived at last—
 In ease with dignity appear,
He in the House of Lords, *I* here."

Many an old sailor of this ward will doubtless have acquired the history of the Centurion's lion,

and be able to narrate the principal adventures and events of "The Voyage round the World." *

If the deeds of Anson are not to be "recorded on marble," nor any memorial of them, why then, for want of something better,—

Illi sit monumentum candidus iste libellus.

* The old Centurion must have been a favourite ship; there is a drawing of her stern by Serres, beautifully carved, a copy of which was kindly sent to me by Robert Cole, Esq., which came too late, or I should have engraved it, together with the head. She was also a good ship, having been more than thirty years in commission, almost constantly at sea.

SUPPLEMENTAL CHAPTER.

INTRODUCTION.

IT had been my intention to confine myself, in the following chapter, to a few observations on two important points—"Manning the Navy," and "Preservation of the Health of Seamen;" but there has recently been so much abuse of the Admiralty, and so many misrepresentations with regard to the state of our navy, compared with that of foreign powers, bandied about in party pamphlets, newspapers, and after-dinner speeches, that I deem it right, and even feel it a duty, to disabuse the public, by showing that the oft-repeated charges of the neglected and *reduced* condition of the British navy are wholly unfounded in fact. I had, for other purposes, collected from authentic information, and arranged in two tables, the actual state of all the navies in Europe and America. With this information before me, as an old servant of more than thirty years in this department, and as one who has been an humble instrument under eleven different naval administrations—Whig and Tory—and professing myself moreover, as far as my official character is concerned, of no political party (my only party being the *Navy*), I claim

the privilege of endeavouring to remove that false impression, which the misrepresentations in question are calculated to make on the British public, and (which is still more to be deprecated) on foreign powers—that *the navy of Great Britain is neglected, and in a progressive state of decay*—a gratuitous falsehood, the fact being the very reverse.

For the facts and observations I have ventured to state, I hold myself wholly and solely responsible, having, advisedly, communicated with no one, not even with a single member of the Board of Admiralty. I have no other object in view but that of letting the *truth* be known; by which test I am willing to abide.

J. B.

Admiralty, 1st December, 1838.

TABLE I. A Return, showing the number of Line-of-Battle Ships, Frigates, and Steamers (Men-of-War), belonging to England, France, Russia, America, Egypt, and Turkey, distinguishing those now in commission, in ordinary, and building.

	ENGLAND.			FRANCE.			RUSSIA.			AMERICA.			EGYPT.			TURKEY.							
	In Commission.	Building.	Total.	In Commission.	Building.	Total.	In Commission.	Building.	Total.	In Commission.	Building.	Total.	In Commission.	Building.	Total.	In Commission.	Building.	Total.					
SHIPS OF THE LINE. 1st Class.—Of 100 guns and } upwards. 2nd Class.—From 80 to 100 } guns. 3rd Class.—From 70 to 80 } guns.	4	12	3	19	2	4	16	22	5	2	7	3	..	..	2	6	2	1	9	2	1	..	3
	4	13	7	24	5	2	11	18	16	2	5	23	..	2	8	10	2	..	2	5	1	..	6
	12	33	2	47	3	4	2	9	19	1	..	20	..	3	..	3	1	..	1	3	3	..	6
	*20	53	12	90	10	10	29	49	40	3	47	50	2	5	8	45	9	2	1	12	10	6	15
FRIGATES. 1st Class.—Razees and of 60 } guns. 2nd Class.—50 and 52 guns. } 3rd Class.—From 36 to 50 } guns.	1	10	..	11	5	8	9	22	4	..	..	4	6	9	18	33	7	..	7	4	1	1	6
	1	7	2	10	5	7	8	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	5
	7	57	8	72	6	7	5	18	20	..	1	21	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	3	1	..	4
	9	74	10	93	15	22	22	60	24	..	1	25	6	11	18	35	7	..	7	10	4	1	15
STEAMERS. Ships of War Steamers on Foreign Stations . Post-Office Packets	5	2	5	12	22	6	9	37	8	..	..	8	1	..	9	10	1	..	1	1	..	2	3
	13	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	23	..	..	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* One of the 2nd Class has since been commissioned, making 21.
† Uncertain, probably 5 only. Of these 7, 3 have recently been launched at Nicolayef.
‡ The Americans have made a contract for a supply of timber to build 11 masts, which will give 26 in the whole.
§ The steamers employed in the Packet Service of France, being armed with heavy guns (36 pounder), and consequently available for the purposes of war, have been included under this head. The steamers employed in the Packet Service of England, not being at present armed for purposes of war, have been omitted.
December 1, 1889.

II. A Return, showing the number of Line-of-Battle Ships, Frigates, and Steamers of War, belonging to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Naples, and Sardinia, distinguishing those now in commission, in ordinary, and building.

	HOLLAND.		DENMARK.		SWEDEN.		SPAIN.		NAPLES.		SARDINIA.		
	In Commission.	Building.	In Commission.	Building.	In Commission.	Building.	In Commission.	Building.	In Commission.	Building.	In Commission.	Building.	Total.
SHIPS OF THE LINE.	1st Class.—Of 100 guns and upwards.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2nd Class.—From 80 to 100 guns.	.. 2	.. 4	.. 5	.. 5	.. 5	.. 1	.. 1	.. 1	.. 1	.. 1	.. 1	.. 1
	3rd Class.—From 70 to 80 guns.	.. 3	.. 3	.. 6	.. 1	.. 5	.. 5	.. 2	.. 2	.. 2	.. 2	.. 2	.. 2
		.. 5	.. 3	.. 8	.. 5	.. 1	.. 6	.. 3	.. 3	.. 3	.. 3	.. 3	.. 3
FRIGATES.	1st Class.—Razées and of 60 guns.	.. 2	.. 2	.. 4	.. ..	.. 1	.. 1	.. 2	.. 2	.. 1	.. 2	.. 1	.. 3
	2nd Class.—50 and 52 guns.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. 2	.. 2	.. 1	.. 2	.. ..	.. 2
	3rd Class.—From 36 to 50 guns.	5	6	3	14	.. ..	.. 6	1	7	.. ..	.. 2	.. 1	.. 1
		5	8	5	18		.. 7	1	9	.. 4	.. 2	.. 3	1	6
STEAMERS.		3	1	4	.. ..	.. 2	.. 2	.. ..	.. ..	.. 1	.. ..	.. ..	.. 2
	Men of War												

Holland has 101 gun boats, 40 of which are in commission.

Denmark has 67 gun boats.

Sweden has 914 gun boats, and 5 bombs.

Norway has 85 gun-boats, and 3 bombs; besides 20 gun boats building, each to carry two 60-pounders.

§ 1.—NAVIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, &c.

Mr. H. W. Craufurd, a young commander in the British navy, being at Petersburg, was introduced to, and met with a most gracious reception from, His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias. He was also allowed to take a cruise of observation in a corvette, fitted and manned for the occasion, to accompany the Russian fleet to sea, on their accustomed annual exercise. He came home so enraptured with the reception he had met with, so astonished at the number, force, and equipment of this fleet, that he could not resist the temptation of publishing a pamphlet, with "*Remarks*," as he prints in large capitals on its first page, "*intended to draw attention to the danger of leaving our navy in its present EXTREMELY REDUCED state.*" And he patriotically thus conclude :—"My remarks have not been directed *against Russia or her fleet*, in which I was received with kindness and hospitality, but *against my own country*; to reproach her for the injurious economy, the parsimony, which has led to the present *reduced* state of her navy." There is an old homely proverb that says, "It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest." If Mr. Craufurd had drawn the attention of the department, under which he holds his commission, instead of the clubs and the newspapers, to any remarks or observations he had to communicate, he might probably have learned that he was at least quite as ignorant of "the present extremely *reduced* state of *our* navy" as he is mistaken with regard to the *increased* state of that of Russia.

If he means, as it may be supposed he does, that the number of ships in commission, and of the men borne, in the British navy, have been in a reduced state since the conclusion of the revolutionary war, the following brief account of them, taken at three nearly equidistant periods, will show him how much he is mistaken :—

In the year 1820 there were in commission—14 sail-of-the-line ; and men voted, 23,000 seamen, including marines.

In the year 1830—18 sail-of-the-line ; men voted, 29,000 seamen, including marines.

In the year 1838—21 sail-of-the-line ; men voted, 34,000 seamen, including marines, and 2000 boys.

And, if he wishes to go back to the year 1792, antecedent to the revolutionary war, he will find that twelve sail of the line were in commission, and 16,000 men voted, of whom about 12,000 only were borne for a great part of the year. I mention this here, to show how incorrect all those are who speak of the *neglected and reduced* state of our navy. If the commander means the actual state of the whole navy, he will find himself equally mistaken, by referring to the Table No. 1.

It is charitable to suppose that the young commander was really ignorant of both ; but his pamphlet of 1837 has had the effect, loose as its statements are, of being the groundwork of all the misrepresentations that have since gone abroad on the subject. When he “ventures to affirm that we have not at the present moment the superiority upon the seas ; and that it would require some time, and the greatest exertions, to give it to us again ;” one would really suppose we were at war, and had suffered defeat in some great general engagement, which had decided our fate and our fall.

This silly opinion of a youthful commander may be taken for what it is worth, and no more ; but he would have done well in being less indiscreet in inviting, as it were, “ a neighbouring power ” to pay us a visit, with “ an overwhelming force, within a week’s sail of our shores.”

Any imputation of the neglect of, or any slight cast upon, the navy, makes the blood thrill through the veins of every true Englishman, who regards the honour, the welfare, and the salvation of the country ; knowing that, on it, rests the defence of the three kingdoms—the preservation of our colonies—the protection of our commerce—the power of repelling and avenging insult ; in short, that it is the navy which contributes mostly to make the name of Britain honoured and respected among nations. It is not therefore surprising that the people of these islands, thus tenacious of the honour and reputation of their navy, should feel indignant at the appearance even of neglect, on the part of those to whom the management of its concerns have been intrusted ; and the more so when, by a constant repetition and reiteration of such charges, the misrepresentations at last obtain a sort of general belief. Nor does the mischief end here ; they create among foreign powers a doubt and distrust of the boasted naval power of Great Britain, which never before entered their thoughts. Even France, which, of all others, has hitherto had most reason to acknowledge England as the mistress of the sea—France, through one of the acknowledged government organs, for so it is said to be, has launched an uncalled-for and rather impertinent observation, regarding the British navy :—

“ The French navy,” says the paragraph writer, “ possesses at present a *matériel* which does not fear a comparison with that of any other nation in the world ; for if we strike out of the *pompous* list of the British navy, published

by the British Admiralty, the vessels unfit for sea, we shall find that Great Britain herself, the Queen of the Ocean, cannot muster a greater number of vessels than France." He goes on to say, "With these admirable ships—the scientific proportions and perfect armament of which are the envy of all other nations—we have a *personel* of officers who unite to French valour, knowledge, experience, and discipline."

We can have no objection to the high qualifications of their *personel*: if these be as represented, our *personel* will have the more honour in beating them, as we have done in all former wars, notwithstanding their larger vessels, heavier metal, and superior numbers, *generally* of ships, and *always* of men. No one ever doubted the valour of the French, nor can it be supposed that the writer meant to disparage that of the English. But if his other object be, as it would appear, to depreciate the *matériel* of the British navy, it may be as well to assure him that no *pomposity* is meant by the list in the little blue book, published by Mr. Murray, but *convenience* merely, in numbering the five or six hundred vessels, of all descriptions, from a three-decker to a ten-gun brig—from a first-rate to a convict-hulk. He will find our actual force in Table No. 1.

There is little wonder, however, in the French disparaging our navy, when they have so many examples of the kind at home, and from quarters where least to have been expected. Among others, we find a political pamphlet writer, Mr. Montague Gore, stating boldly "that the navies of France and Russia are *singly* equal to that of Great Britain." This is sheer ignorance; indeed it so happens that our naval strength in ships-of-the-line is nearly *double* to either; or, in other words, *superior* to both combined. The two pegs on which Mr. Gore hangs his vituperative misre-

presentation of the government, and the admiralty in particular, are, first, the young commander's discovery of the rapid progress of the Russian navy in the Baltic, and the reduced state of our own; and, secondly, the fallacious statements of the French journalist. Let us see, however, what these charges really amount to, that are so bountifully bestowed on the naval administration, that they may be answered in something like detail. The three following heads will probably embrace them all:—

1. *That our ships of war, particularly those of the line, are not equal in number, size, or armament, to those of other maritime powers, France and Russia more especially.*

2. *That ships-of-the-line are sent to sea without their lower-deck guns, and with a reduced and inadequate complement of men.*

3. *That, from the reduced state of naval stores in the dock-yards, and of the number of shipwrights, a fleet, such as a war would require, could not be sent to sea.*

First, I know of no better mode of giving, at a single glance, a brief comparative statement, as to the classes and numbers, of all the navies of the western world, than by exhibiting them, as I have done, in two tables. They are constructed from authentic documents, and I have every reason to believe may be relied on as accurate—within a ship or two at most. To the first table I could wish to draw the attention of Mr. Montague Gore, that he may correct his erroneous assertion; and also to the editor of the *Journal de Débats*. The English navy is not, in the table referred to, exhibited as a *pompous* list, and it will answer triumphantly that part of the first charge, which relates to its reduction as to *numbers*. Many of the seventy-four-gun ships are, no doubt, too small to be engaged singly with the

second class ships of France and America, but they are precisely such as are best adapted for the North Sea and Baltic; and, in all respects most fit to meet, and defeat too, the twenty sail of Russians of the same class, which we are confidently told are to invade us next summer.

In frigates, however, especially in those of the first class, it must be admitted we are, as we always have been, somewhat deficient: however, with eight of fifty-two guns, and twelve of fifty, carrying thirty-two-pounders; and forty-two of forty-six guns, also so armed, and equally prepared for throwing shot or shells—in all, sixty-two powerful frigates—we have nothing to apprehend from the sixty-gun frigates so bepraised by a *soi-disant* Flag-Officer, who shall be noticed presently. We too might add eight or ten guns to our frigates, to give the *appearance* of increased force; but a British officer would only consider them as an incumbrance.

It may become a question whether some of the numerous thirty-six-gun frigates may not be available for very important services; some of the best converted into troop-ships, or even if necessary into steamers. Such frigates, besides, must always be useful as auxiliaries to fleets, and to assist in convoys. We should have been glad of them in the last war. Nelson was left so bare of this class of vessels, and so frequently called for more, that he said he was sure the word *frigate* would be found, after his death, imprinted on his heart.

With regard to armed steam-ships, England has no occasion to feel any anxiety on that score. We have the means at all times to arm and bring forward vessels of that description, whenever required. There are none of our foreign packet-steamers into which may not be placed a couple of sixty-eight-pounder guns, either for shot or shells, or both,

or even eighty-four-pounders, these two species of ordnance being accounted as the best kind of armament for steamers; and we may rest assured that, within two months, or less, after a declaration of war, the British Channel, from Scilly Islands to the North Foreland, will swarm with English armed steam-vessels. It would indeed be disgraceful, if the country that supplies both France and Russia with engines, engineers, and most of the necessary machinery, should not be able to compete with either or both of these nations in this class of ships. The best of those of France are fitted with English machinery; the rest have very little to boast of.

The second Table cannot be glanced at without a feeling of melancholy, on reflecting what the navies of Sweden, Denmark, and Holland in particular, once were, and to what a humiliating condition they are now reduced—all sacrificed, at various periods, to their alliance with France. And then as to Spain!—what a deplorable figure does the remnant of her once proud navy here exhibit! We well know what became of those noble three-deckers the *Salvador del Mundo*, the *San Josef*, the *Hermanegildo*, and *Real Carlos*; but where are the *Santissima Trinidad*, *Purissima Concepcion*, *Princesa del Asturias*, and the numerous magnificent ships mounting from eighty to ninety-six guns, and composing a splendid fleet of sixty-eight sail-of-the-line, eight of which were of three decks? Some of them were reserved to fall with the loss of her American colonies, but the greater part were the victims of French alliance at the battle of Trafalgar!

When Commander Craufurd talks of the progress made in the Russian navy, he is ignorant of the fact, that a Russian fleet in the Baltic has been a sort of hobby

since the days of Peter the Great, who had not less than twenty to thirty sail-of-the-line, small, it is true, in comparison with the present; and, with regard to the vaunted increase at the present time, what is the fact? The Russians have not a single ship-of-the-line in the Baltic, nor in the Black Sea, *more* than they had fifteen years ago, except those now on the stocks, intended to replace the old ones; so little has Russia increased her fleet! If young officers would take the trouble to read what their seniors and superiors have seen and said;—if Mr. Craufurd had done this, he would have found that, in the year 1823, an intelligent old captain of the British navy saw at Cronstadt *twenty-seven sail-of-the-line, and many of them of the largest class of three-deckers*—that he was on board one of the latter, the Leipsic, and says, “she appeared to me, as did most of the ships, to be hogged, for, when standing on the after-part of the lower deck, it was impossible to see more than one-third forward.”* This ship has long since disappeared from the list. The Russian ships in fact last but a few years; they are built either of Casan oak, or larch, both of which species of timber are of short duration. If Mr. Craufurd will look still further back, he will find † that, in the year 1801, Russia had sixty-one sail-of-the-line, thirty of which were in commission in the Baltic, three of them carrying each one hundred and ten guns; fourteen in the Black Sea; the remainder building or in ordinary. Captain Jones also visited Sebastopol, where he found the exact number of ships that are now there, with the exception of those building—fifteen sail—three of them carrying one hundred and twenty guns, and the rest eighty-four. It is certain, however, that,

* Travels in Russia, &c., by Captain Jones, R.N.

† Schomberg's Naval Chronology, App.

as the old ones break down, new ones of a superior class are built.*

Just as this sheet was going to press, a "Flag-Officer of her Majesty's Fleet" comes forward with "A Letter," in the shape of a pamphlet, "to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, K.G., upon the actual Crisis of the Country in respect to the State of the Navy." Very formidable! The Duke of Wellington and a Flag-Officer!—the noblest of names coupled with one *assuming* an honourable designation but without a name, and both apparently employed as mere "springes to catch woodcocks;" and a few gulls at least will, no doubt, be caught by the trick. He calls the Duke's attention to certain "remarks and facts." As regards both the one and the other, it may be stated briefly, that the whole drift of this letter is to degrade and depreciate the British navy; and, at its expense, to elevate those of France, Russia, and the United States; to persuade his readers that these nations are all ready to make war upon us: in short, his "*remarks*" are so disgraceful, impertinent, frivolous, but withal mischievous, as to make it next to impossible any flag-officer

* As a proof of this, it may be stated that, in the autumn of this year, were launched at Nicolayef—

Tri Svetiteli—120 guns, to carry 146 guns.

Tri Hierarchi—84 guns.

And a third.

To supply the places of—

The Warsaw of 120 guns, their crack ship, and

The Pimen, both rotten and unseaworthy; also

The Ivan Ilalaoust, 74 guns, rotten, and condemned.

In short, every ship launched in and before 1830 is stated, by good authority, to be unfit for anything but carrying troops within the Black Sea; and that the fleet in this sea is "neither in its ships or its equipments, officers or seamen, of a character to raise Russia to a high rank among maritime nations."

could have written them: his "facts," however, must be dealt with somewhat at large.

His first *fact* is a fiction. He says that, "before the war of 1793 (that is, in 1792), there were *sixteen* sail-of-the-line as guard-ships." Here he only mistakes *men* for *ships*. The vote was for 16,000 *men*; the largest number borne was about 14,000—generally about 12,000. The number of guard-ships were *eleven* sail-of-the-line, of which two were second-rates, and nine third-rates, bearing 4439 men; there were, besides, one of the line and twenty frigates on different stations. "This force," he says (that is, his own erroneous one), "was a nucleus for a navy, and, upon the sudden breaking out of the war in 1793, we were speedily prepared;" but he wisely forbears to expose his ignorance by saying in what manner. I will tell him: Lord Howe was appointed commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet in December, 1792, and in the first three months of the following year 15,000 men were raised in the usual way by voluntary entry and by impressment—whereas, now, instead of being "speedily prepared," he asks, "has England ever before been found in such a situation?" The answer is, *certainly never*—on no former occasion—never, in the whole course of her naval history—could England boast of twenty-one sail-of-the-line in commission, and a vote of 34,000 seamen, including marines and boys, in a time of profound peace. What does this sapient "Flag-Officer" think of this for a "nucleus?"—what does he think when I tell him, and will presently prove to him, that, exclusive of marines and boys, three-fourths of the rest now afloat are *able seamen*?

As he leads us to expect that war will very soon be declared by Russia, France, and the United States, if not already done by one of them at least—as he considers all of them ready to become enemies, and names Russia as having

passed the threshold; he very patriotically tells all these powers what each of them may, with the utmost ease, effect against us. Russia, for instance, he says, has about forty-five sail-of-the-line (she has *fifty*, twenty of which are small seventy and seventy-fours); "she has forty frigates, nine of them equal to line-of-battle ships" (she has twenty-five, twenty-one of which are of thirty-six to fifty guns). "This enormous Russian fleet in the Baltic is intended to invade this country, and *may next summer* (*sic*) desolate England, ruin her commerce, and blockade her shores, unless England is roused from her stupor." But he says further, the silly people in the interior have "no idea that we are not in a perfect state of defence;" and that nothing will awaken them from their "stupefaction but the *fact* that hordes of Cossacks are landing to plunder London or Brighton." This is pretty well to begin with, but it is not all that Russia has to do for us. She has only, "in the summer or autumn, to take on board troops, and, giving us perhaps not two days' notice of their approach, burn Sheerness dock-yard, and our ships, our towns on the coast, and perhaps London itself." He seems aware of the fleet that is to perform this, for he tells us it is to consist of "thirty sail-of-the-line, twenty frigates, and steamers."

The hardihood with which this letter-writer utters things that are wholly destitute of truth is quite surprising; he asserts, for instance, that Russia has "an overpowering, well-exercised fleet, which has been increasing for several years:"—pithy, but false; it has been shown that it has *not* been *increasing*; and his text-book of Craufurd would have told him, that their well-exercised fleet is out two or three of the summer months. It went to sea, and took this commander with it: the emperor who, this *soi-disant*

Flag-Officer says, "was exercising it during the equinoctial gales," actually joined it on the *fourth* day, and on the *sixth*, when a breeze of wind sprang up, it ran back to Cronstadt.

Let us next see what force France has, and how she is to employ it effectually against us. "She has completely out-built us in her navy; and not only produced a fleet of the largest ships (being superior to most of ours), but has adopted a method, by a registration of all her seamen, of manning it in a very short time."

These two misrepresentations require contradiction. We have the most precise statement, by the Baron Tupinier, *Membre du Conseil d'Amirauté*, of the ships and men composing the French navy, as they now stand, and as they are intended to be kept up. "The ordnance," he says, "established in 1824, and confirmed in 1837, fixes the navy at forty sail-of-the-line, and fifty frigates; that, however, there are actually twenty-seven sail-of-the-line and twenty-four frigates on the stocks, and twenty-two of the line and thirty-six frigates afloat; making forty-nine sail-of-the-line and sixty frigates." These numbers are intended to be gradually reduced to—

20 sail-of-the-line, and 25 frigates, afloat.

20 sail-of-the-line, and 25 frigates, on the stocks.

And it may here be observed that, in the year 1815, France had seventy-three ships-of-the-line, and consequently twenty-four of-the-line have been broken up, one each year on an average. But the impudent assertion, which follows, is enough to make the blood boil of every British officer and seaman—"France has at this time a naval force equal to more than a *hundred sail-of-the-line of our ships!*" There

was a time when a British officer would not have shrunk from engaging a French ship of superior size, of more guns, of heavier metal, and with a greater number of men, which he generally captured with a slaughter five, ay, frequently ten, times greater than in his own ship: the “Flag-Officer” may be ignorant of this, as he appears to be of most things connected with the navy; but he is the first man of the rank he pretends to hold, who has thus ventured to depreciate the British navy, by publishing to the world that a hundred sail-of-the-line are necessary to engage fifty of the French—that is, two British ships of war of the same class are required to fight one of the French. With such feelings, it is to be hoped that *his bit of bunting* may never fly at the masthead of any of her Majesty’s ships—“let no such man be trusted.”

“The ships of France,” we are told, “are swarming over the ocean, while ours are scarcely anywhere to be found.” The swarm is not very large; for she has actually no more than ten sail-of-the-line and sixteen frigates in commission; eight of the line and twelve frigates are the peace establishment; the excess being called for by the affairs of Tunis, Mexico, and Ancona. England has twenty-one sail-of-the-line and nine frigates in commission, besides a whole “swarm” of smaller ships. But, as he not only persists in magnifying the size and number of the French ships-of-the-line, the latter of which he raises from forty-nine (the actual number) to fifty-seven, it may be as well to compare the different classes and numbers as found in Table No. I.

Of the 1st class, from 100 guns and upwards, France has
6 afloat, and 16 building.

Of the same class, England has 16 afloat, and 3 building.

France therefore has 22, and England 19, of this class.

Of the 2nd class, from 80 to 100 guns, France has 7 afloat,
and 11 building.

Of the same class, England has 17 afloat, and 7 building.

Making French, 18—English 24.

Of the 3rd class, from 70 to 80 guns, France has 7 afloat, and 2 building.

Of the same class, England has 45 afloat, and 2 building.

Total—English 90; French 49.

But, to give the appearance of extreme accuracy, the “Flag-Officer” has a list of French ships-of-the-line, with the *names* of his fifty-seven, from which I shall take the liberty to strike out *eight*.

1st Class—L’Austerlitz, Le Wagram, broken up; Le Trocadero, burnt.

2nd Class—Le Foudroyant, Le Duquesne, Le Magnifique, broken up.

3rd Class—Le Breslau, broken up; Le Superbe, lost.

These are all gone, or condemned to go, to the tomb of all the Capulets. Of the remaining forty-nine there are three hulks, Le Tourville, Le Vétéran, Le Jean-Bart, and a school-ship, L’Orion, which would reduce their line-of-battle ships to forty-five; but there are four building to supply their places, of which the “Flag-Officer” knows nothing—Le Valmy, Le Sceptre, Le Castiglionié, and L’Argonaut—still making, as in Table I., forty-nine. There is no end, however, to his blundering *facts* and unfounded *assertions*: thus, “the French,” he says, “have gone on building and launching;” utterly ignorant that, since the year 1815, with all their building and launching, twenty-four ships-of-the-line, as before observed, have disappeared. He talks loosely and absurdly of “France and Russia having sixty or seventy sail of heavy ships *in commission*.” Now, taking the whole twenty-seven sail-of-the-line in the Baltic, for a few months or days in commission, and the ten usually so in the

Black Sea, and the ten of the French in commission, the whole will amount only to forty-seven sail-of-the-line; but the truth is, he mistakes *en commission*, which signifies ships pretty much in the same state as our twelve (foolishly named *demonstration ships*), for ships actually in commission, which in France is *armés*; those not in commission are *désarmés*. He concludes his enumeration of the tremendous force of the French by an amusing instance of the *bathos*—"A French frigate entered Sydney in New South Wales!"—and "is this," he asks, "to preserve peace?" Another specimen of the ludicrous is that of Marshal Soult's visit to Sheerness, to dine with Sir Robert Otway, on which occasion he gravely tells us, the gallant old soldier acted the part of a spy, for "he no doubt well reconnoitred Sheerness!"

With regard to that excellent mode of registration of seamen, by which France, in a very short time, can man her navy, M. Tupinier will perhaps best satisfy him, that he knows nothing of the matter, or he would have been aware that France has the greatest difficulty in manning her fleet at all. "It becomes a question," says the Baron, "whether forty sail-of-the-line and fifty frigates are not *too great* a force for the resources of *l'inscription maritime* to man and afford also the means of recruiting their crews, which might require 57,000 men;" "but," he adds, "it never entered into the mind of any one, that it was intended to put this force in commission at once." "The total number of seamen inscribed," he says, "amounts to 90,000—

But from this number, he also says, must be deducted—

Captains, masters, and pilots	.	.	10,000
Les novices (landsmen)	.	.	15,000
Les mousses (apprentice-boys)	.	.	12,000
			37,000

leaving 53,000, out of which the fleet is to be manned. But he further observes, that of those 53,000, there are only 34,000 or 35,000, from the age of twenty to forty, fit for the service (*bons au service*) ; and that the number of men kept in actual service of the fleet does not exceed 18,000.

If the authority were not above question, it would scarcely be credited, that the commercial marine employs only, in long voyages, in the great fisheries, and the great coasting trade (*grand cabotage*), about 27,000 seamen, exclusive of 23,000 others, engaged in the small coasting craft (*petit cabotage*). From the first number, he says, recruits are taken from the navy, but only under extraordinary circumstances, more extraordinary still from the second ; and he concludes by saying, that the real active portion of the *maritime inscription* is at least 45,000 men.

Already employed in ships of war .	18,000
“ “ in ships of commerce	27,000
	45,000

Such are the resources from which France has the power “ of manning her fleet in a short time.”

And now for the last enemy—that either is or is to be—the United States, who, he finds, “have sent a formidable squadron to South America, of seven men-of-war, all perfect of their kind, a *part* of which would be sufficient to take possession of the whole of our contemptible squadrons there, at the Cape, and in India, with our three admirals commanding them, and carry them to New York.” This is mere impertinence. The United States make no secret of their naval force or of its disposition. They have two ships-of-the-line and six frigates in commission, and one of these, and one frigate, with some smaller vessels, constitute their force in the Pacific, which is to take our three admirals, on

that station, at the Cape of Good Hope, and in India! They have two of the second class and three of the third in ordinary, and eight on the stocks, making in the whole fifteen of the line. The Americans are, moreover, kindly informed that “a few of their powerful ships with troops might run into Halifax harbour, and all Nova Scotia would be in their power;” nay, more, much more—“they might at any time take possession of Cape Breton, establish themselves in Louisburg, and New Brunswick would soon follow.” Crossing the Atlantic, “The inhabitants of Brighton and all our undefended sea-coasts would not be safe in their houses; neither can it be said that London would be secure from being plundered and burnt;” and, to remove all doubt of the lamentable state to which we are reduced, we are assured that the Baltic fleet will be “all ready in the summer to pass over into England;” that they may “anchor at St. Helen’s, take the Isle of Wight, and establish themselves there.”

Does this “Flag-Officer” know—it may charitably be supposed he does not—that were he afloat, and we in the position he would place us, with regard to France, Russia, and the United States (that is, at war), the pains and penalties of the 3rd Article of War, which are not slight, would very nearly, if not entirely, attach to him? As it is, his crime goes something beyond frightening old women and children, from Leith to the Land’s End; he is using his best endeavours to stir up friendly nations against us, and to inflame the minds of the Queen’s subjects against *them*; but, however it may vex him, he will learn from the President’s speech, that “the most amicable dispositions continue to be exhibited by all the nations with whom the government and citizens of the United States have an habitual intercourse.”—And Louis Philippe says—“My relations with foreign powers are as satisfactory as ever. France occupies the

rank which belongs to her in the esteem of her allies and of the world."

Taking this letter altogether, I repeat, it appears impossible that any British flag-officer can be the author of so disgraceful and mischievous a production; and my reasons for this belief are,—

1. Because a British flag-officer, in possession of information, hostile or injurious to the Queen's government and the nation, would feel it to be his bounden duty to make it known to her Majesty's ministers, instead of conveying it to the enemy, or those whom he treats throughout as enemies.

2. Because a British flag-officer would not, by word or writing, endeavour to excite friendly nations against his own; nor, by exposing what he describes to be "the nakedness of the land," earnestly and repeatedly invite them to invade us, and assure them of success.

3. Because a British flag-officer would disdain to publish to all the world the alleged, but false, degradation of his own navy, and extol the superior strength and condition of those he considers as already, or on the eve of becoming, enemies; one of whom he proclaims as "an overpowering enemy, that may be said to be at our doors."

4. Because a high-minded British flag-officer would not anonymously, covertly, and factiously, prefer grave accusations against his own department, to which he is subordinate and amenable, whether afloat or on shore, without giving his name, and notice, to the accused, of his intention to do so.

There was a time when this "flag-officer" might have incurred some danger of suffering the penalty inflicted on the gallant Admiral Vernon, for a very similar, though much less culpable proceeding: but, for his own credit, be he who he may, he would act wisely by throwing aside his pen, and leaving England, France, Russia, and America, in that

state of repose which, it is to be hoped, neither he nor those he has copied, nor those who laud his performance, will succeed in disturbing.

From the prudence hitherto displayed by Louis Philippe, it may be augured that, as far as depends on him, he has no disposition to quarrel with England. He and his ministers must be well aware that a war between England and France, at this time, would inflict a great and general curse on every nation of Europe—and for what purpose?—What could either party expect to gain, while both must infallibly incur loss by war? The French ministers are too wise not to know that a war must deprive France immediately of the whole of her slave colonies—Martinique, Guadaloupe, Guiana, Bourbon, &c.; that, let but the *negro emancipation flag* be unfurled, and all of them would at once follow the example of San Domingo; that the pet conquest of *Algeria*, blockaded by sea, and pressed upon from within, could not long hold out. Nor is it certain that the position of the present dynasty might not be seriously affected. Louis Philippe has not yet, notwithstanding all his sagacity, prudence, and good conduct, acquired any of those *prestiges* which blazed like a glory around the crown of Napoleon. France, therefore, notwithstanding what the “Flag-Officer” says, will no doubt deprecate war as well as England.

But Russia? This power is undoubtedly the least of all others to be trusted, because war or peace is, in that nation, actually the prerogative of one man; and her motions ought therefore to be more closely watched: it is not, however, because she has two large fleets, that she makes herself an object of jealousy to England; but it is her warlike indications in keeping them constantly manned, and, as we are told, provisioned for four months, ready at a moment’s notice to put to sea;—it is this state of naval preparation, enabling

her to commence hostilities at once, that should keep us on our guard against a surprise. She has neither colonies nor commerce to protect: is it not then a fair question to be asked, by Austria, France, or England, for what purpose is a naval armament, in such a state, kept on foot? It may be against England, or Turkey, or both—in either case, it behoves us to be prepared; for if Nicholas be, as he is represented, ambitious, restless, vindictive, and unforgiving, and wholly independent of the opinion of his subjects, he can never want a pretext for going to war. But, from the elevated position he holds among European nations, he ought to be esteemed a man of honour, cautious of acting the part of a barbarian and a midnight robber, whose object is to invade the shores, burn the houses, plunder and maltreat the inhabitants—as the “Flag-Officer” takes great pains to persuade us he is prepared to do *next summer*; if war be his object, there must be discussions, negotiations, manifestoes, previous to actual war, as customary among civilized nations. He is moreover said to be a calculating monarch; and if so, it will be difficult to conjecture by what process he will arrive at the conclusion, that a war with England would be gain to Russia. The hirelings of the German press, who are well paid for depreciating England and extolling Russia, may flatter him, as one of them has done, with the idea of his dictating a peace to England from the palace of Calcutta; but they carefully abstain from hinting that England, by a blockade of the Gulf of Finland, and the occupation of Petersburg, may dictate to Russia from the capital of Peter the Great—the one is about as likely to happen as the other.*

* An able pamphlet, published by Murray, under the title of “Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East,” shows what have been, what are, and what will be, the views of this overgrown despotic power, which, if not soon checked, will prove an overwhelming

Taking leave of this Flag-Officer for the present, the next point to be considered is that of the *size* of ships in the several navies, which appears to be carried by all the maritime powers, in imitation of each other, to a preposterous extent. The United States, being a young and ambitious naval power, and perhaps a little puffed up by having in the last short conflict obtained a superiority by large and fully-manned ships over those of a very inferior class, conceived the proud notion of outdoing the rest of the world, by building a ship of enormous magnitude—probably on the principle of the builders of the tower of Babel—to “make themselves known.” It was a kind of boast, that the *Pennsylvania*, of 3000 tons, was the largest ship in the world. We seem determined, however, to outdo her by building four ships of 3100 tons each—the *Royal Frederick*, the *Royal Sovereign*, the *Victoria*, and the *Algiers*; and when to these we add the *Howe*, *Britannia*, *St. Vincent*, *Caledonia*, *Royal William*, *Nelson*, *Prince Regent*, *Waterloo*, *Hibernia*, *Neptune*, *Royal George*, *St. George*, and *Trafalgar*—thirteen ships of 120 guns each; besides two of 110 guns, three of 104 guns, one of 92 guns, ten of 84, and four of 80, making twenty of these fine ships, it requires no small degree of impudence to proclaim the British navy in a state of decay, and her ships inferior to those of other naval powers. But where, it may be asked, is the wisdom of this competition in attempting to outbuild each other in the power. Its acquisitions, marked on the chart which accompanies this pamphlet, are so scattered over, and indented into, the several states of Europe, looking like so many plague-spots, that must sooner or later be dispersed or burst: but, in the mean time, what are all the powers of Europe, exposed to the infection, about? Let them look seriously on this chart, and, if its spotted blisters will not arouse them, nothing will.

size of ships? Would not the battle be just as well and as honourably fought and decided between fleets composed of seventy-fours, sixty-fours, or any other class of ships, as by such monsters as these?—except indeed it be considered an advantage to incur additional expense in the building, fitting, and manning such ships, and an enormous additional expenditure of human life, increased to an incalculable extent, if shell-guns should be found to answer the purpose contemplated by M. Paixhans: we shall, in that case, have a naval war of extermination—but it will probably be short, and in the end so far advantageous, as to teach nations and individuals to arrive at that point of wisdom, which may realise the poet's hypothesis, where he says—

“ War is a game that, were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at.”

The Russians, too, must build their large three-deckers; but little need be thought of them, till they are better manned and better managed. There is not an officer in our service, commanding one of our first-class ships, that would not be delighted to be laid alongside the *Warsaw*,* said to mount one hundred and thirty-six guns, thirty-six-pounders, with four on the lower deck sixty-eight-pounders; or even that mighty eighty-four-gun ship that, Commander Craufurd tells us, and the “Flag-Officer” repeats, “has a large gun which throws a shell of one hundred and twenty pounds, whose weight is six tons and three-quarters, and whose charge is sixteen pounds of powder; which is worked by sixteen men, and requires six minutes between each round;” so that, for each shot, she would receive six from every one of our sixty-eight-pounders. When Paixhans proposed these shell-guns, he boasted that he had invented a

* Recently found to be rotten.

machine that would avenge the French for the disasters of her navy, caused by the English in the revolutionary war, and make the next more *murderous*—a weapon of vengeance and massacre!—would not even-handed justice require him to be the first victim of his own infernal machine?

We must of course follow, and are rapidly following, the example set by others; indeed, six years ago, experiments were made with the long sixty-eight-pounder gun, and at the same time the long twenty-four-pounder guns were bored up to thirty-two-pounders, which are now, and will be hereafter, universally used wherever they can: but it may be a matter of doubt how long the practice of throwing shells from these two species of guns will continue. The experiments that have been made by that intelligent and indefatigable officer, Captain Hastings, are highly satisfactory, as to their destructive effects; but every body must see there is a great difference between firing from one fixed object to another, also fixed, and in an action at sea. There, no one seems to know precisely what the effect will be; but it is not difficult to foresee the disadvantages—such as the difficulty of adjusting the length of the fuse to the varying distance of the object—the charge of powder according to that distance—so as to bury the shell in the ship's side, where it is intended to explode—the chance of its remaining thus buried, and not exploding at all—the difficulty and time required for placing the shell in the gun as it ought to be—the additional weight of the gun and shells on the ship—the additional number of men required for loading, bringing up the shells, and running out the gun—the delay of some minutes in firing each round;—these and other drawbacks will probably be found incidental to shell-guns on board ships. England, however, will not be left behind, and her seamen

will soon learn and manfully do their duty at these guns, as they have ever done with others. They go to work quietly, without hustle or blustering; and the nation is neither in a state of "stupefaction," as the Flag-Officer impudently asserts, nor does it see any occasion for "unchaining and unmuzzling the British Lion," as he most valiantly recommends in concluding his rodomontade.

The French are fond of elevating their guns and firing at a distance, aiming rather to dismast a ship than to hull her; but of this we may be certain, that our captains will not attempt to throw a shell, until they come within point blank distance, when, even should it miss explosion, it will do the business of a sixty-eight-pound shot, by going through. The ten-inch shell-gun, eighty-four-pounder, is considered best adapted as a pivot or slide-gun for steamers.

Paixhans is, however, proud of his invention, which, by the way, is none.* He says "the English boast that a ship-of-the-line speaks all languages; and truly enough they carry orders that are understood by all nations; but we hope to be able to prove that a ship-of-war, be she what she may, speaks not so loud but that another may speak still louder, and put her to silence." This nonsense was uttered many years ago, but it has only arrested the attention of the French government recently, and the results of the experiments made with his shell-guns induced it to adopt this *murderous* species of warfare.

While on the subject of building and preserving the fleet, it may be stated that, not many years ago, the attention of

* The little treatise of Captain Simmons, R.A., containing the history, practice, and results of hollow shot and loaded shells, directed against ships-of-war, should be read and studied by every officer of the British navy.

the Board of Admiralty was drawn to the great number of new ships building, and with such rapidity, that they were launched, not from any want of ships, but apparently as if for no other purpose than to rot at their moorings in ordinary. In the year 1832, when matters of this kind were closely looked into, it appeared that the *Nelson*, of one hundred and twenty guns, launched in 1814, (eighteen years before,) the *Vindictive*, seventy-four, (nineteen years before,) the *Pitt*, seventy-four, (sixteen years before,) *Bellerophon*, eighty, (fourteen years,) had not one of them ever been at sea; and that other ships-of-the-line, in the several ordinaries, to the number of sixteen, were in the same predicament. This waste of ships and public money arose entirely from the want of some system, in bringing the oldest seaworthy ships forward for service, in some sort of succession, in time of peace. Something of this kind might be done—suppose, for instance, by way of illustration, that the establishment of the fleet to be kept up be sixty sail-of-the-line; that on a very moderate estimation the duration of a well-built and well-seasoned ship, carefully looked after, may be taken at fifteen years, requiring only slight, if any, repair. Let twelve be the number employed on the peace establishment, (exclusive of guard-ships,) and each of them be kept in commission three years, and, when paid off, singly or together as may happen, twelve others be brought forward to replace them. At the end of fifteen years the whole sixty will have had their tour of service, and be put into a state of repair as they come in.

But as ships will wear out and accidents happen, suppose four ships a-year (two new ones and two old ones repaired) to be provided; this number annually brought forward would always keep up the number to sixty; and a reserve in case

of war, that every new ship, on an improved construction, had its duplicate prepared in frame and placed under cover, to be set up as occasion might require, we should thus be provided with the necessary war establishment.

Every one conversant with the subject must be aware that no perfect uniformity of this kind can be strictly adhered to, but something of the sort might be adopted, to prevent ships from rotting at their moorings, as in various instances has been the case; for, it has been supposed that a ship in commission (barring accidents), will last longer than a ship in ordinary, because, in the former case, she is better looked after, and more interest is felt in keeping her in a state of repair, than in the latter.

While on this subject, it is to be hoped that we shall have no more tampering with dry-rot doctors and their nostrums for the preservation of Her Majesty's ships. The steeping of large logs of timber in solutions of any kind is perfectly useless; the solution penetrates only skin deep, whereas the real dry-rot commences at the centre, where the fibres, being the oldest, first give way, as is the case in the standing tree. The only plausible and promising preservative of timber is the gas of the kerosene, procured from the distillation of coal or vegetable tar, which, when driven off in the shape of gas, will penetrate every part of the largest logs, and render the wood almost as hard as iron, so hard, indeed, as not easily to be worked. It is understood that in Belgium they are using it as blocks for the railroads. The worm (*teredo navalis*), as proved at Sheerness, will not touch it, while pieces of the same wood, steeped in corrosive sublimate, sulphureous acid, and other active solutions, were bored through and through. Let our ships be built of good sound English oak, as they formerly were, well seasoned, under cover, and left on the stocks as long as they conve-

niently can be allowed, and we shall hear no more of dry-rot or wet either.*

2. *The second charge brought against the Admiralty is that ships-of-the-line are sent to sea without their lower-deck guns in, and with a reduced complement of men.* It is quite true that three, of the twenty-one in commission, have been so sent, as a temporary accommodation to three admirals, whose flags they bore, and their retinue. It was thought that such accommodation, in a time of profound peace, was a courtesy that might be allowed, when asked for, without the slightest inconvenience to the service, and without any additional expense. The Board well knew that a very short delay would occur in remounting them; and accordingly one of the three, the Cornwallis, has now her complete armament of guns; and the Wellesley has hers on the spot. Three other ships-of-the-line, employed on a pressing emergency to convey regiments to Halifax and Quebec, struck their lower-deck guns into the hold, for the greater convenience and comfort of the troops and seamen; and every reasonable man, instead of censuring, will applaud the Admiralty for adopting a measure by which several regiments have been conveyed to their destination, with that rapidity and in that good state of health, so essentially necessary for the service they were sent upon. The Hercules carried three regiments, and made three trips to Halifax, without her lower-deck guns: the Russell has lain idle seven months in the Tagus, with her guns—which ship has been most usefully employed? This charge can only be regarded as factious and frivolous.

* The Royal William carried a flag as guard-ship, when nearly a century old; the Sovereign of the Seas was burnt when half a century old; and Anson's Centurion, always in service, was broken up when nearly forty years old; yet none of these, nor many hundred old ships, were steeped in any quack nostrums.

But then our ships-of-war are sent to sea with short complements of men; that is to say, with their *peace* complements, which, taken broadly, may be said to average one-eighth less than the war complements. It is quite true they are so sent, according to ancient practice (varied only as to the numbers), ever since the navy existed as a navy; but now-a-days *that* goes for nothing—"old things have passed away; behold, all things are become new." It is quite unnecessary therefore to attempt any justification of the practice on the ground of ancient precedent; it is indeed a pure naval question, on which it is not for me to give an opinion: I shall therefore only observe, that the present peace establishment is taken from that of war, as settled by a committee of naval officers in the year 1816, revised in the year 1828, and altered from time to time, as ships of different classes and dimensions were brought forward, and is now undergoing a revision, required by the change in the armament and rating of ships.

As compared with the war complements, one would imagine the present peace establishment to be ample. For instance, that of a seventy-four, in war, being only 590, is now 570; of the former, the number of able seamen was then limited to one-third, the ordinary one-third, and landsmen one-third; now the able seamen are estimated at seventy-five per cent.* First class boys, during war, were admitted from fourteen to seventeen years of age; now they are required to be from seventeen to twenty. The fact seems to be that, in war, officers thought only of seeking and fighting the enemy; in peace, very properly, of keeping their ships in the highest possible order, to compete with,

* On examining the books of 1834, of six ships-of-the-line and eighteen frigates, it appears that the average proportions *then* were, seventy able, twenty-six ordinary, and four landsmen *per cent*. They are known to bear *now* more in favour of able seamen than *then*.

and excel in smartness, such full-manned French ships they may meet with, in manœuvring, without calling all hands for that purpose. The battle of the Nile was fought with twelve seventy-four-gun ships, whose average complements did not exceed 560, and among whom were several foreigners—Portuguese, Maltese, and Neapolitans.* The force of the enemy consisted of thirteen ships, one of one hundred and twenty guns and 1010 men, three of eighty guns and 800 men each, and nine of seventy-four with 700 men each; yet of this fleet eleven were taken, sunk, or destroyed; and the remaining two afterwards captured—but Nelson commanded—and he *was* a “flag-officer.”

The question of peace and war complements would seem to turn upon this:—which is most desirable, in peace, to have fewer ships with full war complements, or a greater number with peace complements?—which of the two would be most advantageous on the breaking out of war? If a large fleet were required to be got ready at a short notice, undoubtedly the latter—the deficiency of an eighth would readily be supplied, or even if the ships wanted a fourth, provided those already on board were, as they now are, active and able seamen—the rest might be made up of the crews of various small craft, of the ordinary, by marines, or, if necessary, by the entry of landmen, together with impressment, essentially necessary on the breaking out of war, unless our merchants will quietly see their ships with return cargoes swept away into French ports. Another reason for the preference of peace complements is, that the more ships in commission during peace, the greater number of officers of all ranks will be employed, and thus be enabled to keep up their practice, which it will be admitted is also essential for the efficiency of the fleet.

* The Orion was short sixty-six men, and the Audacious, fifty-six; several others to the extent of twenty-two and twenty-four.

We are now, however, clamorously called upon to change the long-established system, to increase indefinitely our fleet, and to keep it full manned on a war establishment. We had much better at once be at war, a result to which such a measure as that recommended would be likely enough to lead. Whenever the necessity for it shall actually exist, of which the Government may be presumed the best judge, let Parliament vote 50,000 men, and the Admiralty will find no difficulty in adding thirty sail-of-the-line, of as fine ships as any in the world, to the twenty-one already in commission; for which additional thirty, masts, sails, yards, and every necessary article of gear are in complete readiness in our (*neglected*) dock-yards—and it can hardly be doubted that those persons, so clamorous for war, will be among the first, cheerfully to submit to a war tax in time of peace.

3. *The last charge is that, from the reduced state of stores in the dock-yard, and of shipwrights, a fleet such as a war would require, could not be sent to sea.* This would be indeed a serious charge if true. As there is no effect without a cause, so the cause of this alleged deficiency is rather a curious one. A Noble Marquis, one day in want of a Riga spar for his yacht, was told there was not one in the yard where he inquired; and all the newspapers in the United Kingdom echoed the cry, that a Riga spar was not to be found in *any* of Her Majesty's dock-yards; nay more, by a figure of speech called amplification, neither masts, spars, nor yards were to be had even for the supply of ships on the peace establishment. But the story of the deficiency of such a spar as the Noble Lord wanted is quite true; and it is also true that there are none of that kind in any of the yards, and the reason is this: the purchase of Riga spars has been discontinued for the last *three-and-twenty years*, that is, since the conclusion of the war, because the prices

demanded became so enormous, and their place could be supplied so advantageously by the substitution of Virginia, red pine, and New Zealand coudie spars—all of them equally good and much cheaper than, and the last superior in toughness and strength to, Riga spars. In the year 1833 a member of the then Board of Admiralty, who in ancient times had heard, like the Noble Lord in question, of the superior qualities of Riga spars, made an attempt to procure a supply by public contract, but the prices asked were so enormous, that the Board declined accepting any of the tenders. We are not singular, however, in the deficiency of these kind of spars. Le Baron Tupinier says that the northern market is closed against them, and that no more Riga spars are to be got; and, what makes the matter worse, they have not been able to supply their wants with Virginia spars; that in consequence they are reduced to the necessity of making their topmasts of several pieces (*hune de l'assemblage*;) *fishing*, I believe we should call it, all round the mast, throughout the whole length. On inquiry I find that the reason for their not getting Virginia spars is, that the French, in their naval estimates, put down the *prices* at which contracts are taken. The American timber-merchants are soon informed of these, and raise their demands accordingly. The British public, however, may rest satisfied with the assurance that there are in the several dock-yards, not only made-masts, main, fore, mizen-masts, and bow-sprits, for thirty sail-of-the-line, as already stated, but as many more in component parts, ready for putting together, with all the necessary stores for the equipment of a fleet to the extent of fifty sail-of-the-line; and with regard to topmasts, for the want of which the French are so much distressed, it appears we have upwards of three hundred spars, sufficient for all the topmasts of one hundred

sail-of-the-line. The details of the principal stores could be given, if necessary, or expedient, which, for obvious reasons, it is not. Many of the most important, and of foreign growth, are in store for three, four, five, and even six years' consumption—but I have already occupied more space than the subject may be thought to deserve. I shall, therefore, only remark that, with regard to the number of shipwrights, if any judgment may be formed from a comparison of what they were in the height of the war, with what they now are, it will be said that they are amply sufficient for all the work required of them. In the year 1813, when 148,000 men were voted, the number of shipwrights employed was about 5000, including other artificers immediately connected with ship-building; at the present time, when 34,000 men are voted, the number employed is 2360; the proportion being, that the latter number, in this view, would be sufficient for 60,000 men serving in the fleet; but of course the number to be employed must depend on the nature and quantity of the work to be performed.

In conclusion: I cannot hesitate to affirm, and I do so neither rashly nor vauntingly, nor without due research, that, if any confidence is to be placed on official statements and returns, at no former period of profound peace, in the whole history of Great Britain, was her navy in so efficient a state, as to the number, condition, and equipment of the ships in commission, and the number and superior qualities of the petty officers and effective seamen borne on their books: nor were the number, the dimensions, and the condition of the ships in ordinary, and the preparations and stores in the dock-yards for increasing the active and efficient force of the fleet, at any time more satisfactory, than at the present moment—the commencement of the year 1839.

§ 2. MANNING THE NAVY.

Notwithstanding all the clamour that has been raised, there is not the slightest ground of apprehension regarding the efficiency of our ships of war; but the case is different with respect to the manning of them. It is here where the shoe is likely to pinch. We may crowd into our harbours of Hamoaze, Portsmouth, the Thames and Medway, as many as we please of those "moveable fortresses," those "stupendous masses," there to repose on their shadows, but without men they will not, to pursue Mr. Canning's metaphor, "ruffle their plumage and start into life and animation." The important question then is, what means are to be adopted equal to the manning of the fleet on the breaking out of hostilities? It has been asserted that the whole of the seamen in the United Kingdom would not be sufficient to man the navy in time of war, without distressing the merchant service. Though there can be little doubt that the number of seamen, in the coasting trade, has been somewhat on the decline; and one of the causes is the multitude of steam-vessels, still rapidly increasing, which swarm in the Thames and other rivers, and along the coasts of the United Kingdom; which have had the same effect, as to the diminution of sailors, that the railroads have on post-horses. It is to be hoped, however, that a sufficient number will yet be found available for the naval service, without having recourse to means that would distress the mercantile marine, the main source indeed from which they must spring; and I think, it may be shown, that there are seamen enough for both.

That on the first breaking out of hostilities, recourse must be had to the legal and constitutional measure of impressment, no doubt can be entertained by any unprejudiced man;

without it the ships-of-war for a long time must continue to "repose on their shadows," while those of the enemy are reaping a rich harvest undisturbed. That it is both legal and constitutional has been so clearly shown by that able lawyer, Judge Foster, as not to be controverted. Even that powerful champion for the rights and liberties of Englishmen, Junius, in speaking of the impress, says, "I never can doubt that the community has a right to *command*, as well as to *purchase*, the service of its members. I see that right founded originally upon a necessity which supersedes argument. I see it established by usage immemorial, and admitted by more than a tacit assent of the legislature. I conclude there is no remedy in the nature of things, for the grievance complained of; for if there were, it must long since have been redressed." And he further observes that, "with regard to the press for seamen, it does not follow that the symptoms may not be softened, although the distemper cannot be cured."

There is no doubt that the mode of carrying impressment into effect may be so modified, as to remove a great deal of that odium which has generally been attached to it. It may be confined to the pressing of seamen afloat; no pressgangs need parade the streets, enter houses in search of poor fellows just returned from long voyages, to tear them away from their parents, their wives, and their children: these are the things that make impressment hateful. Perhaps it would be desirable that no general press-warrants should be issued, by which the protected and unprotected, the aged and infirm, the landsmen as well as seamen, are indiscriminately swept away to the rendezvous, huddled together in a confined room, till regulated, as it is termed, when probably not one in five are found fit or

liable to serve. A rendezvous at the principal ports of the United Kingdom may be necessary for the reception of volunteers, but not for impressment; this species of forced service should be limited to men serving afloat. Every thinking man, however, must be fully sensible of the absolute necessity of having recourse to impressment on the first breaking out of war, if we wish to protect our shores from insult, our colonies from capture, our commerce from plunder; all other modes can only be slow and progressive; and the party who strikes the first decisive blow has made a great stride in winning the battle. The "*Inscription Maritime*" of the French, which has much failed them of late, is a kind of militia. We, too, have a militia for the land service, to which all classes of landsmen within certain ages, with a few exceptions, are liable, but from which seamen are exempt. If we are to give up the usual and efficient means of manning the fleet, why not establish a maritime militia? why not say to every maritime province of the United Kingdom, You must furnish so many seafaring men for the navy—according to the registered number in your county—and the rest shall be free from impress, from the moment that the stipulated contingent has been supplied? Why is a seaman to be exempt from serving his country, on that rude element, where alone he can be of essential service?

Every encouragement, however, should be given for voluntary enlistment; and nothing, perhaps, would hold out greater encouragement to good seamen, and be more productive, than a well-appointed frigate, or sloop, with a sensible and discreet commander, stationed at each of the principal ports of the United Kingdom, for the voluntary entry of seamen. The Act of 5 and 6 of William IV.,

cap. 24, brought in by Sir James Graham, seems to be well calculated for this end. It is entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of the Voluntary Enlistment of Seamen, and to make regulations for the more effectually manning His Majesty's Navy." It limits the naval service to volunteers for five years. If abroad, the admiral under some special emergency may detain him six months longer, with one-fourth increase of pay; after five years he may be discharged with certificates, on which protections will be granted. On entry at any rendezvous, or on board ship, he will be entitled to double the ordinary bounty; seamen already serving when the proclamation shall be issued, not to be discharged, but continue to serve, if required, five years, and will receive the ordinary bounty. Any seaman who shall, at the expiration of five years, signify to his commanding officer his desire to continue in the service for another period of five years, shall be entitled to receive the single bounty offered by the Royal proclamation. In addition to these encouragements, pensioners, who may be fit, and volunteer, will be allowed to receive their pensions while serving, in addition to their pay. And, lastly, seamen wishing their discharge before the expiration of five years, will be permitted to find a substitute of one able seaman or two able-bodied landsmen; and will be entitled to the same protection as if he had completed his five years himself. It may here be observed that, if able-bodied pensioners were *now* allowed to receive their pensions along with their pay, many valuable men would be preserved to the service, say from one hundred and fifty to two hundred a-year of choice seamen. No additional expense would be incurred by his receiving both, as, if he does not re-enter, another, probably not half so good, must take his place.

Coupling these great benefits, secured to volunteers by Act of Parliament, with the encouragement which of late years has been given to seamen serving in the fleet, and very recently the increase of pay to that important class of men, the seamen-gunners, which will, no doubt, be extended to those valuable men rated as petty officers, it can hardly be doubted that, on the breaking out of war, these great advantages will induce seamen to volunteer for that service, in which they know they are better treated than in any other. With regard to the petty officers generally, it is the opinion of a great many able and experienced captains, that it would be considered a great encouragement for these most useful men, and induce many to enter the service, if their pay were made equal in all rates; and it seems reasonable it should be so, as the labour, the drudgery, and the attention, in the lower, are as great, and frequently much more so, than in the higher rates. Others, however, are disposed to consider the step from a lower to a higher rate to operate as an encouragement; that there is a great difference between having three or four men to look after and thirty or forty, and that the share of prize-money is many times greater in small than in large ships.

Prize-money, it is true, is much looked up to by seamen; and it certainly ought to bear a much larger proportion to that of the officers than it does. Sir James Graham, satisfied of the propriety of this, took a little, and but a little, from the admirals and captains, and gave it to the able seamen: but it met with opposition from both classes of officers—from the captains with some show of reason—from the flag-officers, none. A captain is liable to all the expenses of litigation in the case of a doubtful detention, and must himself indemnify the owners for an illegal capture; their

plea then was this—if our share is to be reduced, at least bear us harmless; if we, in the prosecution of our duty, are led by plausible circumstances to commit an error, let us be indemnified, on the certificate of the judge, that appearances justified the detention. Nothing would appear more reasonable; and it is much to be hoped that, on war breaking out, a very considerable increase of prize-money will be granted to petty officers and seamen of the fleet.*

After all a great deal must depend on the character of the captain, or commanding officer, in the successful manning of his ship: the seamen are made so well acquainted with this, that a favourite officer will man his ship in one-fifth part of the time that another will. Lord Howe never wanted men for the ships he commanded, because he was known in the navy as the “Seaman’s friend.”

The other Act of Sir James Graham, 5 and 6 William IV., cap. 19, for forming and maintaining a register of all merchant seamen of the United Kingdom, and for amending and consolidating the laws relating to them, is of the greatest importance to the commercial interests, and of mutual benefit to the owners and masters of ships, and to the seamen. Every one knows how many ineffectual attempts have been made to establish a general register of the mariners and seafaring men, on an idle supposition that it was an invasion of the liberty of the subject, and with the ulterior view of facilitating impressment. It required, therefore, no little tact to subdue this prejudice. An office is established at the Custom-house, in London; a registrar,

* Even without these important advantages, and contrary to the assertion of the “Flag-Officer,” that the men are disgusted and will not enter the service, it is a fact that, from the moment bills were issued, and a few lieutenants appointed to receive volunteers, more than a thousand men have entered in the month of December.

with a proper number of clerks appointed, who corresponds with the customs at the out-ports, and makes periodical returns to the Admiralty, of the number of seamen registered. By a return called for by the House of Commons, dated the 9th of June, 1838, the total number of registered seamen, up to that date, was 156,872; * but among these is mixed a certain portion of river and coasting trade, the latter of which, by a Parliamentary return, is stated to consist of the enormous number of about half a million. †

But, perhaps, the most important part of this bill, is that which relates to parish boys and others being put apprentices to the sea service, and the number of apprentices which every ship is compelled to take, according to her tonnage. All former Acts on this subject were evaded; but the regulations now in force, and the penalties attached to any deficiency in the numbers, bid fair to introduce into the merchant service a very considerable increase of seafaring men. By the same return as that above mentioned, there were in the merchant service, on the 31st July, 1835, when the Act passed, 5429 apprenticed seamen. Of this number, on the 9th June, 1838, there remained still under indentures 1740.

From the passing of the Act to the same	
date, the indentures registered were . . .	19,367
To which add	1,740

Total number of apprentices . . . 21,107 ‡

Some regulations would still appear wanting, with regard

* Increased in September to 167,013.

† This return of 1829 for 1828, signed by the Registrar-General of the Custom-house, is thus stated :—"Coasting trade, inwards, 512,000, outwards, 517,000 men;" a return, not worth the value of the paper. The same vessel and the same crew may have arrived and sailed inwards and outwards a dozen times in the year.

‡ Increased in September to 21,450.

to the seamen apprentices. Since the establishment of docks, all hands are sent ashore, from the time the ship is ready to enter one. If the apprentice has no home to go to—which is generally the case—he is put into some mean lodging-house in the neighbourhood of Wapping, till his old ship, or some other belonging to the firm, is ready to leave the dock; where, it may be supposed, neither his morals, habits, nor health, have been improved. The merchants of London, at a small expense, might provide a remedy for this evil. While speaking of apprentices, I may notice the great advantage which the navy will receive from the number of boys now introduced, and which it may be prudent to increase; they are now about 3000, and might with advantage be extended to 5000. Many of these boys, who enter at seventeen or eighteen years of age, return from their station fit for the rating of ordinary seamen, become attached to the navy, and prefer it to all other service. Too much encouragement cannot be given to this class of young and rising seamen.

Another source for the supply of seamen, to a certain extent for the navy, has, within a few years back, been lost to the naval service. The allusion here made is to the Coast-guard service, as at present constituted. Why it has been altered from its original establishment, when it supplied seamen on many occasions for the navy, instead of, as now, taking them away from it; or by whose advice the change was made, is not material. The deed has been done, the concession has been made; and the Treasury, the Customs, and the Comptroller of the Coast-guard, are probably satisfied that, being naval men, and under the control of naval officers, they are more efficient for the protection of the revenue, than any other class of men. It may be so, and well-conducted enough, though not under martial

law; but they are lost to the navy; their habits being totally changed. No complaints of inefficiency, or want of subordination, were made against the men when borne on the books of a ship-of-war, stationed in the Downs, and of another in New Haven; and the great advantage was, that on any pressure for manning a ship, forty, fifty, or sixty able seamen, were always at hand, and made available. On one occasion of an important nature, two hundred and forty-one seamen were withdrawn from the coast-guard, then called blockade service, and at another time two hundred and eighty-three; and the number borne exceeded three thousand men. The coast-guard has now about four thousand men on shore, and nearly one thousand in the revenue cruisers. Many of the former of these are not only exempt from serving in the navy, whatever may happen, but are composed of the most effective able seamen drawn from the navy—seamen such as are in the vigour of life, and of the best characters; without a certificate of which they cannot be received into this favourite service. It was the old system to have a fifty or sixty gun-ship stationed as a guard-ship in the Downs; and not a bad one, were she of no other use than to show to the foreign ships of all nations, passing through that anchorage, that we had at least one ship-of-war on the look-out. Formerly ten or twelve sail-of-the-line were kept at the three great ports, Sheerness, Portsmouth, and Plymouth; but the result of the revolutionary war, which placed Malta and the Ionian Islands in our possession, was to transfer these guard-ships to the Mediterranean, which from that time became the principal station for our fleet. Still it appears to me it would impress foreigners with a higher notion of our navy on visiting our ports, which they all do, if a second-class ship-of-the-line were stationed at each of the ports of Ports-

mouth and Plymouth, with the full peace complement, to exercise the officers and men for six or seven summer months, or be ready as a reinforcement wherever required. Our ports at present, it must be admitted, wear but a gloomy and deserted aspect.

It has been said by those who look favourably on the present coast-guard system that "You will get them when the war breaks out." No such thing; while their land-service is allowed to tell as service at sea, why should they leave so comfortable a retreat? Should a war break out to-morrow, there would not be left a man on the coast, fit for service, the following day, unless specially protected. Such men may be considered as lost to the naval service for ever; yet there appears to be no reason why the coast-guard seamen should not be subject to martial law, as well as the men serving in the ordinary, and in the packet service, which is now the case in all the various branches wherein seamen are employed; why should the navy, in their instance alone, be deprived of their services? why, with such exemption, should their time be allowed to go for pensions? Instead of this, why not establish a maritime police, composed of young and active landmen, who would be just as much under the control of commanders and lieutenants of the navy, as seamen? It must come to this in the event of war.

There is, however, another and more serious drain of seamen, in time of war, by which they are protected from the impress, and abstracted from the naval service; this is the privateer system, which is carried on to an enormous extent. The great number of letters of marque and reprisal, granted to ships armed and manned, more for the sake of getting to an early market and avoiding convoy than fighting the enemy, occasion a heavy drawback from the entry of men in ships-of-war. A sailor joins a regular

privateer, in the hope, almost the certainty, of making his fortune, which, however, frequently ends in disappointment; but it is a speculation that he cannot resist. If, indeed, the whole system of privateering could be got rid of, by agreement of the belligerents, it would prove the greatest benefit to mankind in general, as well as to those engaged in it; for it is frequently carried on in a manner little short of legalised and licensed piracy. It encourages a species of gaming, by which a few acquire great fortunes, while multitudes are ruined. The misery entailed by the system of plunder exercised by privileged privateers is incalculable; and the demoralization of those engaged in it is of the worst description. But we are considering it here only, as it deprives the navy of men to a very great extent, who would otherwise be employed with advantage to themselves, and benefit to the state. This will more satisfactorily appear by a return of licences and protections issued from the Admiralty in the following years :—

LETTERS OF MARQUE AND REPRISAL.

	Vessels.	Men.
Against the French republic from May, 1803, to		
May, 1804	680	27,960
Ditto, Batavian republic, from June, 1803, to		
June, 1804	670	28,758
Ditto, King of Spain, from January, 1805, to		
January, 1806	540	25,718

Those taken out against the French and Batavians are nearly for the same ships; of those against Spain, about a fourth are contained in the other two. The number of men thus protected may be about 47,000, which with the addition of marines, landsmen, and boys, would be fully adequate to man a fleet of fifty sail-of-the-line, with frigates, sloops, steamers, and small craft in proportion: this is a subject

which, I apprehend, will require to be more closely looked at, in the event of war.

Important as the manning of the fleet is, it is no less indispensable that it should be under the direction of active, able, and experienced officers—such as are generally known to be so, and in whom the warrant and petty officers and seamen have confidence. There is perhaps in this more than is generally thought; Howe, St. Vincent, and Nelson, with many of the brave officers who served under them, knew how to inspire into their men that degree of confidence, which never failed them in the day of battle; they exacted discipline, but never withheld indulgence, when it could be granted without detriment to the service; and their people knew this. If the captain, on whom the heavy responsibility rests, instead of making his men comfortable, annoys and harasses them with trifles of no moment—such as employing his men in rubbing, and scrubbing, and polishing, when the time ought to be their own, they become disgusted, get sulky and discontented, and go with reluctance to the necessary work of the ship. But happily such captains now are very rare; they ceased generally in the course of the long revolutionary war; neither are there many of those who, on the other hand, “think those,” as Captain Barnett says to Anson, “the best officers who have the least blocks in their rigging.”

It is related of the Duke of Wellington, that, “on being shown over a man-of-war in which the *polishing system* was established in full force, he observed that it was pretty to look at, but that it lacked one thing; for he had not seen a smile on the countenance of any one man in the ship.”* Satisfied that the Duke of Wellington never uttered or made any such observation, yet being thus stated publicly in a work

* Quarterly Review, on the “Life of Howe,” No. 123.

so generally read, the question was asked of his Grace, to which he immediately replied, with that courtesy so peculiar to his character, and in a manner so highly complimentary to the officers of the navy, that it well deserves to be recorded—

“ Walmer Castle, September 29.

“MY DEAR SIR—I have received your letter of the 27th. I have no recollection of having used the expression to which you refer. I have sailed in many ships of war of all sizes and descriptions, probably more than some officers of the navy of my time of life; certainly more than any officer of the army. The captains of all these ships were the most distinguished men of their rank at the time. I do not recollect to have had occasion to make such a remark upon any of them, or on the discipline maintained by any of them.

“That which I always felt was, admiration for the professional science and seamanship displayed by all the officers, without exception, in every ship in which I ever sailed. I firmly believe, and I have frequently stated my conviction, that I had not seen one, who could not at any time lay his ship in any situation, which he might be ordered to take in relation to any other ship, be the strength of the wind or the violence of the sea what it might; and I have founded, upon this superior knowledge and seamanship of our officers, the confidence that the naval superiority of this country would be permanent. . . .

“Entertaining this opinion, I might have made remarks upon other matters. But I certainly do not recollect that I ever had occasion to make such a remark on the discipline of any ship in which I have sailed.

“Believe me, &c. &c.

“WELLINGTON.”

This is a splendid testimony to the merit of the commanders of ships of war; but still the question will be asked, how do we stand with regard to the officers in general who are to take command? Are there among the two to three thousand commissioned officers on the list such a number of young, active, vigorous, and experienced officers, as are worthy of being intrusted to meet the boasted *personel* of the French navy, which has challenged the whole world? We may safely and most assuredly answer, There are. But then they must not be taken from what Mr. Legge calls "the seniority of inexperience." We have captains and commanders in abundance, fit and ready for any service, and not, as the "Flag-Officer" gratuitously says, "dispirited, and only expecting to be blockaded in their own ports"—a slanderous imputation on "our best officers."

It must be admitted, however, that the list of flag-officers is not a promising one. Age and infirmities have invaded its ranks; and if the present system be continued (contrary to the recommendation of a committee of the House of Commons), of promoting in *masses*, or, as is usually called, *by brevet*, it unquestionably will not improve. Why then not make it efficient, as it soon would be, by applying the wholesome rule, to this class of officers, of promoting *one* in *three*?—a question that has often been asked, and no other reason assigned for its not being so, except that it would be altering the old system. In these days of innovation, that would not seem to be a valid objection. Two parties are to be considered in this question—the public and the individual—first, for the public: if, on every three admirals going off the list, a vice-admiral, of any colour, should be *selected* to take his place; if three vice-admirals, a rear-admiral, of any colour; if three rear-admirals, a young and efficient cap-

tain promoted to be rear-admiral—in ten years the public would have an efficient list of flag-officers. For the second, justice and national gratitude would demand, that the old captains should be properly provided for, by giving them retired rank and pay. But those are matters which, no doubt, the committee now sitting will not fail to bring under their consideration.

The following abstract will show what is suggested in this section :—

1. Mitigation of the impress.
2. Voluntary enlistment.
3. A maritime militia.
4. Partial increase of pay.
5. Pay and pension while serving.
6. Equalization of pay to petty officers in all classes of ships.
7. Increase of prize-money.
8. Entry of boys extended.
9. Resumption of coast blockade.
10. Restriction in granting letters of marque.

§ 3. PRESERVATION OF THE HEALTH OF THE NAVY.

It is not enough that every possible means should be taken for manning and keeping up the efficiency of the navy, it is the imperative duty of the naval administration to promote and establish such regulations, respecting ventilation, cleanliness, and discipline ; and of the medical department to examine and recommend such professional officers, and to provide such supply of proper drugs and instruments, as may promote and preserve the health of the seamen. The means of attaining this most desirable end are now so well ascer-

tained, and so easily acquired, that no officer of the navy, in the command of a ship of war, can have any excuse for being ignorant of them. It should be clearly understood that, although every king's ship is supplied with one or more medical officers, generally well educated and skilled in their professional duties, yet, without the hearty co-operation of the commanding officer, the medical gentlemen can do little towards the preservation of the general health of the crew. The responsibility of this rests much more—and a heavy responsibility it is—on the captain than on the surgeon. He must not conceive all that concerns the health of the men is solely the business of the latter. To this officer, however, is committed the charge and cure of the sick; but the prevention of disease must very much depend on the captain—on his judgment, attention, and enforcement of all such regulations as are established, or such as, from circumstances, he may find necessary to establish, for the general good discipline of the ship, a proper degree of ventilation to secure fresh air, and a rigid attention to cleanliness. The following truth cannot be too forcibly impressed on the mind of every commanding officer of a ship of war.

“There can be no situation in which there is more room for genuine virtue, praiseworthy conduct, and address;—none to which there attaches more grave and solemn responsibility; none on which there is a more imperious claim on the conscientious discharge of duty, than that of a naval commander. The men are cast on his humanity and discerning judgment, under various aspects: a ship in the middle of the ocean is a little world within itself, at the arbitrary disposal of an individual. Seamen and marines are subjected by martial law to a more despotic exercise of power than the constitution of the state authorizes, or even in the army: naval officers can, at their single arbitrary dis-

cretion, inflict such a summary and severe punishment as cannot be inflicted in the army without the solemnity of a court-martial: Englishmen surrendering, from considerations of public expediency, what they hold most dear, and that of which they are most jealous—their liberty—and becoming thereby the greater objects of grave decision and considerate feelings. All seafaring people, especially those employed in war, are exposed to peculiar and unavoidable privations, hardships, and dangers, which ought to be mitigated, as far as is practicable, by those at whose absolute will they place their lives and limbs; it is in their character to be unthinking and careless of their own welfare and interest, requiring to be tended like children, and, like children, are entitled to a *parental* tenderness from the country they protect and the officers they obey.”

Sir Gilbert Blane further observes, what is very true, that, “since mankind have learnt to traverse oceans, evils unknown to our ancestors have arisen, more hostile to human life than rocks, shoals, and storms; for, since the invention of the compass, more seamen have perished by the scurvy and fevers than by all other causes inseparable from practicable navigation.” There are on record too many lamentable proofs to admit any doubt of this. To go no further back than to that disastrous instance of Admiral Hosier’s expedition to the West Indies, in the year 1726, for the purpose of capturing the Spanish galleons. Twice he appeared before Porto Bello and Carthagea—twice replenished his crews at Jamaica—and twice his crews of six ships-of-war almost all perished of fever and scurvy; and from these losses, and the insults and derision of the Spaniards, poor Hosier is said to have died of a broken heart. The squadron under Admiral Vernon, in the year 1740, in the same places, was little less calamitous.

We have seen the dreadful ravages made in Anson's squadron by fever and scurvy—the former, to all appearance, either carried on board or generated immediately after sailing, by the manner in which the ships were encumbered with the unfortunate Chelsea pensioners, who, from age and infirmity, were inhumanly and most improperly forced on board; not one man of whom lived to return to his native country.

Pascoe Thomas says that, of the 510 persons who left England in the *Centurion*, in September, 1740, the number of deaths, up to the end of September, 1741, in one year, was 292; leaving no more than 218 alive at that time; and those on her arrival in England, in 1744, were further reduced to 130; giving a total of the number of deaths in the *Centurion* alone, during the voyage, of 380—being equal to 75 per cent., or three-fourths: and the other ships, he says, did not suffer less.

Even down to the year 1758 very little progress seems to have been made in subduing the scurvy. Lady Anson, in a letter of the 27th of August of that year, says, “I find a letter in town from my Lord, who complains that his squadron is in general very bad with the scurvy, so that he had been obliged to send in three large ships, with a great number of sick men, collected out of the fleet; most, if not all of them, would have been dead and thrown overboard in the course of ten days: he has kept his own ship healthy by dint of expense, he says; I imagine in greens and fresh provisions from Plymouth.”

We have, however, at length obtained a specific remedy, which, except in some very extraordinary circumstances, prevents, and rapidly subdues, that dreadful malady the scurvy; but hitherto the malignant fevers of tropical climates seem to have resisted all specifics; however, they may be pre-

vented, and the spreading of infection guarded against and counteracted, by attention to those regulations which are now so well known, and which were first put in practice by a man, whose name is so justly held in universal veneration—the immortal Cook. The conduct which he pursued, with such happy success, and which he has so briefly but clearly described in his letter to Sir John Pringle* (dated 5th March, 1776), ought to be known, and the precepts it contains followed, by every commanding officer of the navy:—

“ We had on board,” he says, “ a large quantity of malt, of which was made sweet-wort, and given (not only to those men who had manifest symptoms of the scurvy, but to such also as were, from circumstances, judged to be most liable to that disorder), from one to two or three pints a-day to each man, or in such proportion as the surgeon thought necessary; which sometimes amounted to three quarts in the twenty-four hours. This is, without doubt, one of the best anti-scorbutic sea-medicines yet found out; and, if given in time, will, with proper attention to other things, I am persuaded, prevent the scurvy from making any great progress for a considerable time: but I am not altogether of opinion that it will cure it in an advanced state at sea.

“ Sour-cROUT, of which we had also a large provision, is not only a wholesome vegetable food, but, in my judgment, highly anti-scorbutic; and spoils not by keeping. A pound of it was served to each man, when at sea, twice a-week, or oftener when it was thought necessary.

“ Portable soup or broth was another essential article, of which we had likewise a liberal supply. An ounce of this to each man, or such other proportion as was thought ne-

* Philosophical Transactions.

cessary, was boiled with their pease three times a-week; and when we were in places where fresh vegetables could be procured, it was boiled with them, and with wheat or oatmeal, every morning for breakfast; and also with dried pease and fresh vegetables for dinner. It enabled us to make several nourishing and wholesome messes, and was the means of making the people eat a greater quantity of greens than they would have done otherwise.

“Further, we were provided with rob of lemons and oranges, which the surgeon found useful in several cases.

“Among other articles of victualling we were furnished with sugar, in the room of oil; and with wheat, instead of much oatmeal; and were certainly gainers by the exchange. Sugar, I imagine, is a very good anti-scorbutic; whereas oil, such at least as is usually given to the navy, I apprehend has the contrary effect. But the introduction of the most salutary articles, either as provisions or medicines, will generally prove unsuccessful, unless supported by certain rules of living.”

He then goes on to say,—“The crew were at three watches, except upon some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were not so much exposed to the weather as if they had been at watch and watch; and they had generally dry clothes to shift themselves when they happened to get wet. Care was also taken to expose them as little as possible. Proper methods were employed to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, clothes, &c., constantly clean and dry. Equal pains were taken to keep the ship clean and dry between decks. Once or twice a-week she was aired with fires; and when this could not be done, she was smoked with gunpowder moistened with vinegar or water. I had also frequently a fire made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which greatly purified the air in the lower

parts of the ship. To this and cleanliness, as well in the ship as amongst the people, too great attention cannot be paid; the least neglect occasions a putrid, offensive smell below, which nothing but fires will remove; and if these be not used in time, those smells will be attended with bad consequences. Proper care was taken of the ship's coppers, so that they were kept constantly clean. The fat which boiled out of the salt beef and pork I never suffered to be given to the people, as is customary; being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy.

"I never failed to take in water wherever it was to be procured, even when we did not seem to want it; because I look upon fresh water from the shore to be much more wholesome than that which has been kept some time on board. Of this essential article we were never at an allowance, but had always abundance for every necessary purpose. I am convinced that, with plenty of fresh water, and a close attention to cleanliness, a ship's company will seldom be much afflicted with the scurvy, though they should not be provided with any of the anti-scorbutics before mentioned.

"We came to few places where either the art of man or nature did not afford some sort of refreshment or other, either of the animal or vegetable kind. It was my first care to procure what could be met with of either, by every means in my power, and to oblige our people to make use thereof, both by my example and authority; but the benefits arising from such refreshments soon became so obvious, that I had little occasion to employ either the one or the other.

"These, Sir, were the methods, under the care of Providence, by which the *Resolution* performed a voyage of *three years and eighteen days*, through all the climates

from 52° north to 71° south, with the loss of *one man* only by disease, and who died of a complicated and lingering illness, without any mixture of scurvy. Two others were unfortunately drowned, and one killed by a fall; so that, of the whole number with which we set out from England, I lost only four.

“ I am, &c.

(Signed) “ JAMES COOK.”

Thus did this excellent officer and seaman, by care, attention, and the exercise of a sound judgment, preserve his crew mainly by his own resources. The sweet-wort, sour-cROUT, portable soup, rob of lemons or oranges, all excellent in themselves, are no longer of absolute necessity for warding off that most horrible of all diseases the scurvy. Happily a complete specific has been found in citric acid, or lemon-juice, which perhaps (except in one case to be mentioned) has never failed. But, for the preservation of the general health of the crew, little need be added to the precepts and valuable methods pursued by Captain Cook. One article, however, which aids most materially to that of cleanliness, has been suggested and strongly urged by Sir Gilbert Blane, and that is soap. Too much indeed cannot be said in favour of supplying ships-of-war with this article in the greatest abundance. The expense would be trifling; but what indeed is expense when compared with the health of a ship's company? What is it when compared with a sickly crew, requiring two or three hundred men to be sent to the hospital?—what, in time of war, to the rendering a ship's company inefficient, from disease, when perhaps her services are most wanted? Sound policy, as well as humanity, requires that every possible means should be employed for the

preservation of the health of our seamen ; it is on them we must depend in the day of need—in the hour of danger. The only objection against supplying soap is the great quantity of water required to make it of avail, and this is obviated to a considerable degree by the supply afforded from the cooking-hearths, which distil fresh water (at least fresh enough for washing) with the same fire that prepares the men's dinner.

And now to look on the bright side of the picture : let us see what has been the beneficial effect of adopting generally in the service dryness, cleanliness, ventilation, and salutary food, as recommended by Cook, and of that most valuable prevention and cure of scurvy, an abundant supply of lemon-juice. In the latter disease may also be recommended as a certain palliative, cheerfulness, or such means as can be resorted to, in order to raise the spirits of the invalid. "It is related," says Sir Gilbert Blane, "that when the fleet under Admiral Mathews, in the year 1744, was off Toulon, in the daily expectation of engaging the combined fleets of France and Spain, there was a general suspension of the progress of sickness, particularly of the scurvy, from the influence of that generous flow of spirits, with which the prospect of battle inspires British seamen." He says indeed that, even the invalids at the hospital (on hearing of Rodney's victory) manifested their joy by twisting shreds of coloured cloth on their crutches. On the contrary, it is well known that a depression of mind and low spirits are favourable to the invasion of disease in every form, and most apt to produce a tendency to sea-scurvy. An increase of this disorder, to a great extent, was immediately the consequence of the Centurion falling in with the snowy mountains of South America, when the sick were expecting to see the enamelled verdure

of Juan Fernandez. There is another point which officers in command should never lose sight of. The separation of those affected by fevers from those in health, by means of a commodious sick-berth, is of the greatest importance to check the progress of disease.

It was not till the year 1793 that lemon-juice was first issued to the ships under Rear-Admiral Gardner, at his request, for the purpose of serving it out to the men, made into punch; after which, but not till the year 1797, it was ordered to be generally supplied to the navy by the Board for the care of sick and wounded seamen. The result was most gratifying. When Lord St. Vincent commanded the fleet, which blockaded Brest from the 27th May to the 28th September, 1800 (one hundred and twenty-four days), consisting of twenty-four ships-of-the-line and smaller vessels, the crews amounting to about sixteen thousand men, none of them during that time entered a port, none of the crew had a fresh meal, and the number of hospital cases are stated to have been incredibly small. From documents in the Admiralty, some curious results appear of the progressive diminution of sickness and death in the naval service. The following table is calculated on the number of one hundred thousand men:—

Year.	Sent sick to Hospital.	Deaths.
In 1779 . .	40,815 . .	2,654
1782 . .	31,617 . .	2,222
1794 . .	25,027 . .	1,164
1804 . .	11,978 . .	1,606
1813 . .	9,336 . .	698

Thus it appears that the diminution of sick and of deaths between the years 1779 and 1813 was in the proportion of four to one nearly.

In order to ascertain the actual loss in men sustained by

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the British fleet in each year, commencing with 1810 and carried on to 1812, every captain and commanding officer was directed to transmit to the Admiralty a list, made up to the 1st of January of each preceding year, of all the deaths that had taken place, by disease, accident, or in battle. The result was as follows :—

Years.	No. employed.	Deaths.
1810 . .	138,581 . .	5,183
1811 . .	136,758 . .	4,265
1812 . .	138,324 . .	4,211

About one-half of the above numbers died of disease, the other half in fight, by accidents in landing, boats upsetting, shipwrecks, &c., the numbers of each separately specified in the returns: it follows then that, in the three years above mentioned, the proportion of deaths in 100,000 men, employed afloat, was 3302 annually; and if to this number be added the number of seamen who died in hospitals in the following year 1813, namely, 698, the total loss of life in that year, out of somewhat more than 100,000 men, may be estimated at 4000 men, or a twenty-fifth part, or 4 per cent, or, by disease, the small proportion of 2 per cent per annum.

By a return of the sick and deaths in the squadrons on the South American and West India stations, it appears, that in

The West Indies, on the average of seven years, ending with the year 1836, mean strength being 3362, the deaths were 61, being 1·83 per cent.

South America, mean strength 2465, deaths 19, being ·8, or less than 1 per cent.

The only station, on which the loss of life is enormous, is that of the African coast, where the mortality is frightful.

We have seen, from Anson's voyage, that liability to scurvy does not depend on climate, its attacks having been equally felt within the tropics and the high latitude of Cape Horn. Those ships that have passed one, two, and even three winters, in the polar seas, by wise precautions as to dryness, ventilation, and cleanliness, and the adoption of measures for keeping up the spirits of the men, together with a proper use of lemon-juice, have succeeded in repelling all approaches to scurvy, and have returned to England without the loss of a man. We must notice however one solitary exception, in the *Terror*, commanded by Captain (now Sir George) Back. This gallant officer ascribes the disease to the failure of his heating apparatus, the tubes of which were choaked up: the consequence was, they were compelled to exclude ventilation to obtain a bearable temperature, and to live in an atmosphere polluted by their own breath, while, owing to the excessive cold without, differing sometimes from a hundred to a hundred and twenty degrees from that within, streams of water were constantly running down the sides of the ship and in the cabins. When, however, by placing canvas tubes leading to the deck, they procured a thorough ventilation, the sickness gradually diminished. This case of the *Terror* proved that anti-scorbutics, without thorough ventilation, are not sufficient either as curative or preventive. There is every reason to believe that neither the dreadful mortality, that took place in Anson's squadron, nor that degree of disease, which prevailed in the *Terror*, would have occurred, if a thorough ventilation, affording a supply of fresh air, could have been procured.

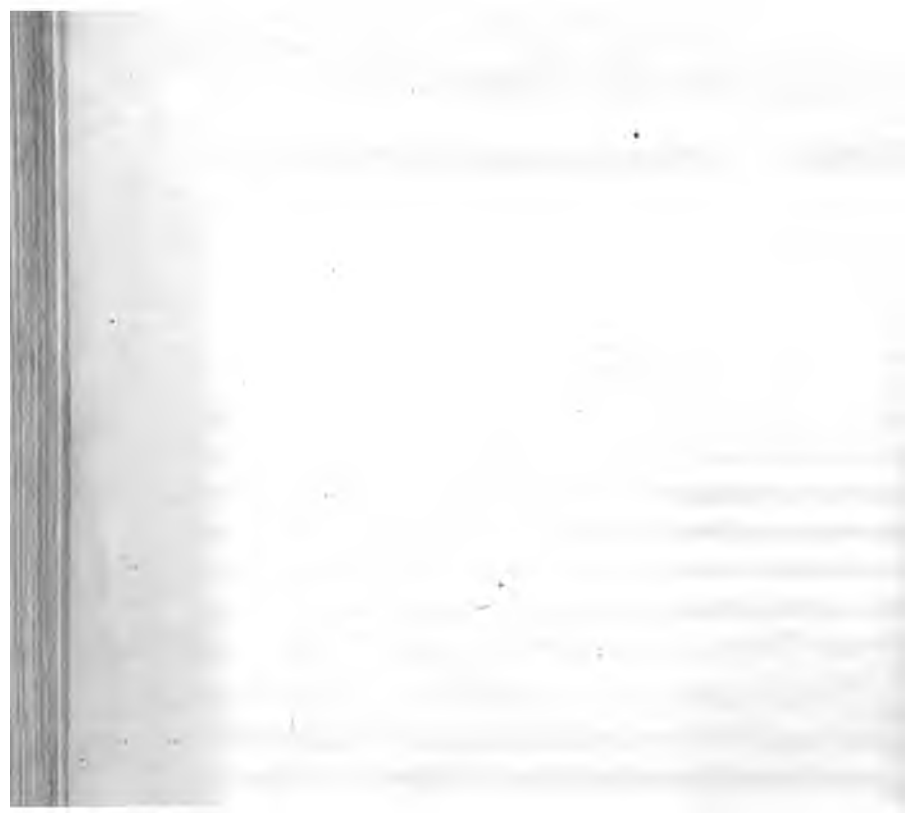
We have now, I believe, for the first time, the means of giving a full supply of fresh air, and of getting rid of the foul,

whether in ships, or mines, or prisons, or wherever crowds are pent up in confined situations. A machine, invented by Captain Warrington of the East India Company's service, produces a constant and complete ventilation; it is on the principle of an air-pump, and the vacuum is produced by one man turning a windlass, by which the foul air rushes out with a blast as strong as that from the waste-pipe or safety-valve of a cylindrical bellows in a forge or smithy. The simplicity and efficiency of this machine are its great recommendations. With the exception of the iron chamber, in which the vacuum is produced, the rest can be made by any common carpenter. Its efficiency might be implied from the principle of its construction alone, but it has been *proved*, by a trial on board the *Ganymede*, convict ship, at Woolwich, and Captain Superintendent Hornby says, "The trial of his (Captain Warrington's) machine is, to my mind, perfectly satisfactory, and I consider it to be an invention likely to be very beneficial to the health and comfort of seamen in tropical climates." Mr. Brunell has adopted it in the Tunnel, and says, "it has not ceased to work for eighteen months at least, and we find it very beneficial. It draws from a distance of 800 feet, where the shield is completely ventilated. The number of men sent to the hospital affected by the deleterious gases has greatly diminished." There can indeed be little doubt that, when better known, it will supersede all the safety-lamps now in use in mines, for, worked at the mouth of the shaft, and the wooden tube, or trunk, carried to the very extent of the mine, be the distance what it may, all the foul air of every kind must immediately rush out. What a blessing must such a machine be in ships of war and troop-ships, crowded with regiments on board, when within the tropics, in the West Indies, or on the coast of Africa! How

much more so to the miserable negroes crammed together into the captured and accursed slave-ships !

Had every ship in Anson's South-Sea squadron been furnished with one of these foul-air pumps, the melancholy and disastrous results never could have occurred, to the frightful extent to which they did, among their ill-fated crews.

THE END.





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